THE LABOR MOVEMENT IN AMERICA

RICHARD T. ELY

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THE LABOR MOVEMENT IN AMERICA

BY

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NEW EDITION, REVISED AND ENLARGED

SIXTH THOUSAND

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1886.

TO

Mr. and Mrs. Eugene K. Hough,

IN GRATEFUL RECOGNITION OF THEIR SELF-SACRIFICING
ENDEAVORS IN YEARS GONE BY TO AID ME
IN THE SOLUTION OF THE TRYING
ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF
MY OWN LIFE,

THIS BOOK,

WRITTEN WITH THE EARNEST DESIRE THAT IT MAY
SERVE OTHERS LESS FAVORABLY SITUATED,

IS AFFECTIONATELY DEDICATED.

PREFATORY NOTE TO THIRD EDITION.

WHEN my "Labor Movement in America" appeared, I hoped that before this I should be able to subject it to a thorough revision, enlarging it so as to treat with greater fulness of some events which have been hastily passed over, and bringing it again down to date. I have not, however, been able to find the time for so large an undertaking, and my publishers warn me that it is necessary to get out a new edition of the book at once to meet the demand for it which still continues. I am reconciled to this course the more readily as the year 1886, when this book first appeared, seems to close one period in the American labor movement, and the time is as yet hardly ripe for a treatment of subsequent events. I have, however, added in the form of a new appendix a paper on "The Relation of Temperance Reform to the Labor Movement," which I originally prepared for the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. This is a discussion of one of the remedies for industrial evils.

I feel tempted to add a few words to my critics, but refrain. The book itself and the events which have transpired since it appeared are a sufficient reply to most of the adverse criticisms.

RICHARD T. ELY.

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY,
BALTIMORE, MD., January, 1890.

PREFACE,

WITH FINAL WORD TO WORKINGMEN.

THE importance of those phases of American life with which the present work deals, is no longer likely to be called in question. The labor movement treats of the struggle of the masses for existence, and this phrase is acquiring new meaning in our own times. A marvellous war is now being waged in the heart of modern civilization. Millions are engaged in it. The welfare of humanity depends on its issue.

I do not claim to have written a history of the labor movement in America. I offer this book merely as a sketch, which will, I trust, some day be followed by a work worthy of the title, "History of Labor in the New World." In the meantime, I shall be abundantly satisfied if this more modest effort accomplishes two chief purposes which I have set before me as a goal. The one is to show that the material furnished to the historian by the movements of the laboring classes in America is interesting, instructive, and withal not devoid of the pathetic and picturesque. The other is to convince my readers of the vastness of our present opportunities. While America is young and our institutions and even our habits of thought are as yet plastic to an unusual degree, we have advantages which are not likely to recur in a near future. It is still in our power permanently to avoid many of the evils under which older countries suffer, if we will but take to heart the lessons of past experience, and seriously endeavor to profit by the mistakes of others; and surely this is wiser than to repeat their folly. The present crisis in our history is a time when either optimism or pessimism is easy; but both are dangerous. The potentialities for good or for evil are grand beyond precedent, and it rests with

the living to say what the future shall be. There is enough that is alarming to excite us to vigorous action; there is enough that is promising to encourage our best efforts with the brightest hopes.

I have endeavored in this book to present an accurate record of facts, to ascertain which I have spared no trouble. Books, pamphlets, and newspapers have been carefully collected for years, and several thousand miles have been travelled with this in view. Nevertheless, in a field so new and so immense, it is but natural to suppose that I must occasionally have fallen into errors both of omission and commission, and I shall regard it as a favor if any friendly reader will point these out to me. I shall also be under obligations to any one who — for possible use in a future edition — will send me any labor literature, such as constitutions, by-laws, and annual proceedings of labor organizations, newspapers, pamphlets, etc. The first phases of the labor movement in this country are obscure, and I should be particularly obliged for any of the earlier publications relating to it, as well as for any oral or written communications bearing thereon.

The aim of the present work is chiefly presentation rather than refutation, although it will be noticed that I do not entirely abstain from criticism. I do, however, presuppose that my reader is gifted with ordinary common sense, and will not be pleased by childish criticism such as must occur to every schoolboy. Criticism of this kind, thrust into the midst of the presentation of some theoretical system or historical narrative, has often annoyed me in works on social topics, and I have purposely avoided it. I further assume that the readers of the following pages are of moral natures sufficiently elevated to understand that we ought not to lie, murder, and blow up cities with dynamite, to accomplish our ends. I do not think it necessary to tell them this. I do not think it incumbent upon me to say on every page, that I am so far from sympathizing with schemes for destruction, that I regard them as damnable.

While I have endeavored first to understand the American labor movement, and then to present a description of it in such

manner that others may likewise understand it, letting the parties concerned speak for themselves as far as possible, it must be remembered that I have concerned myself chiefly with the main current of a great stream, and have not been able to find room for a treatment of many separate lesser currents of social life; consequently when I express approval of the labor movement, I do not approve everything connected with it.

Much that is done in the name of labor, I regard with abhorrence. In the same way should the reader understand my admiration for the Knights of Labor. I believe it is a grand society, but I dissent from some of its principles, and from its course in some localities. Individual knights and individual assemblies, have been guilty of outrageous conduct with reference to their employers, the general public, and their fellow-workingmen. Their deeds have sadly injured the cause of labor. Finally, while I believe that the Knights of Labor represent an organization of a higher type than the trades-union, I do not believe that the latter can yet be dispensed with. The two forms of organization should co-operate; but co-operation ought to be sought by lawful and kindly measures, and not by such abominable methods as I fear have been adopted in a few cases.

"I presume you have felt, as have I, the sting of criticism and censure — of misrepresentation because discussing this topic of socialism at all." These are words written to me in a letter recently received, by a friend who is professor of political economy in a Western university. They indicate at once a difficulty in the way of the economist. The topics he discusses are so vital, that any presentation of them is bound to be misconstrued in some quarter. Nevertheless, there seems to be only one course for an honest man, which is to say his word and patiently endure misunderstanding and even malicious abuse. Yet the wilful falsehood with which one's character and motives are assailed, when one attempts to treat social topics truthfully, are sometimes hard to bear, and at times one feels inclined to reply to some malignant critic, as Charles Kingsley did once when his honest soul was vexed beyond measure: —

"If you say these things, — *mentiris impudentissime*." On the other hand, frank and honest discussion of differences of opinion can only benefit all parties concerned.

I regard this as a most conservative work, for I believe that error in our social life derives its chief strength from its admixture with truth, and that the larger the proportion of truth, the greater the danger of the error. The thought which has animated me, has been to separate the two, and to encourage people to render error comparatively harmless by a full and complete recognition of truth.

My thanks are due to many people for kind assistance in the preparation of this work. Professor A. S. Bolles, Mr. Joseph Labadie, and Mr. E. S. McIntosh kindly lent me valuable pamphlets. Officers of nearly all of the organizations of which I treat in this book have been most courteous in their endeavors to aid me in the presentation of an accurate and impartial account of their respective societies. My thanks are also due many business men, including some of the leading manufacturers of the United States, for information readily imparted, and for their generous encouragement, which has been a valuable stimulus to me in my task. One of the pleasantest features connected with the preparation of this work is the personal kindness received from so many men of all occupations, and of the most widely separated social positions, in various parts of the country; and without any mention of names, for which space is too limited, I beg them each and all to receive this expression of my gratitude.

Several chapters of this work first appeared in a series of articles in the *Christian Union* two years ago. These articles have been used freely both by pulpit and press, sometimes with generous recognition of the source of information, perhaps oftener without mention either of their author or the *Christian Union*. A year later they were revised, enlarged, and published, under the title, "Recent American Socialism," in the Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science. Chapter I., "Survey of the Field," and Chapter VII., "Co-operation in America," appeared first in the *Congregationalist*, of Boston. A few paragraphs appeared first in the *Andover Review*, and one

or two sentences are quoted — with acknowledgment — from an article of mine which recently appeared in the *North American Review*.

TO WORKINGMEN.

I wish the last word that I pen in the preparation of this book to be addressed to you, for it has been prepared in the hope that it may benefit you. I bring together in this place, even at the risk of repetition, a few words of caution and counsel; and I beg you to receive these as the sincere conviction of one who would be your friend. If I assume the imperative form of address, please understand that I do this simply for the sake of brevity, and not in any spirit of dictation. I do not wish you to accept what I say, unless it commends itself to your judgment and conscience. "Prove all things; hold fast that which is good."

1. Let every workingman try to make himself more indispensable in his place, a better workman and a better man. If every member of society is ever to receive a sufficient quantity of economic goods to satisfy all rational wants, products must be increased in quantity and improved in quality. If we ever expect to use our opportunities to the best advantage, we must improve our characters. Banding together will be of little avail to worthless men or a worthless cause.

2. There is no atom of help to you or to any in drink, — the poor man's curse so often, and so often the rich man's shame. Every effort making to promote temperance among you should receive the warmest encouragement.

3. Beware of demagoguery, especially political partyism, which will give illusory triumphs, but leave to you only wretched failure. Be not stepping-stones for others to vault into place. Cast off the slavery of party politics, and with faith in the triumph of righteousness, ally yourselves to every endeavor to elevate and purify public life. You have far more than others at stake in this. While the majority of you reject socialism, I am certain that most of you agree with me that along certain lines the functions of the State should be increased. Government cannot do

everything, but it can do much. Yet when this is suggested, corruption in the sphere of public life is urged as an obstruction to the performance by the constituted authorities of the land of their legitimate duties. Help all those who are trying to remedy this unfortunate state of affairs.

4. It cuts me to the heart when laboring men are shot down in the street. All the wars have been at the expense of your blood. Imitate no violence. Destruction of the property or lives of others cannot help you or enrich you. Your triumph can come only by peace.

5. There is much that is bad in existing social arrangements, but there is also much that is good; and this good has been procured by the struggles of centuries. With a full appreciation of all that is sad and disheartening in the condition of the masses, I believe that, on the whole, the lot of mankind was never a happier one than to-day. The preparation of this book has given me a stronger conviction than ever before that the past century has witnessed an improvement in the position of the laboring classes in the United States. Rights which the humblest of us Americans take as so much a matter of course that we do not reflect upon the possession of them as a source of pleasure, although to be deprived of them would inflict the keenest pain, were in a past age scarcely within the dreamland region of the masses. This is not said to suggest to you that you fold your hands, and lazily take things as they are, but to encourage the use of conservative means for the attainment of your ends. There are vast treasures in our civilization which it is in the interest of all to preserve. Resist wrong more strenuously than heretofore; strive for all that is good more earnestly than you have ever done; but let all your endeavors be within the law. The rich and powerful will always find protection; and if the dream of the Anarchists were realized, there would be no check to the despotism of the strong and cunning. The law is often not what it should be; but the law itself points out peaceful methods by which it may be changed. Law is often perverted, and fails to fulfil its function; but even when it is worst administered, it affords some protection.

6. Cast aside envy, one of your most treacherous foes. Reject every thought of levelling down. Cultivate an admiration for all genuine superiority. While all the monstrous inequalities of our times can by no means be upheld by good men, while many of those inequalities, the fruit of evil, can beget only evil, remember that nothing more disastrous to you could happen than to live in a society in which all should be equals. It is a grand thing for us that there are men with higher natures than ours, and with every advantage for the development of their faculties, that they may lead in the world's progress, and serve us as examples of what we should strive to become. It will not take you long, if you think earnestly about it, to become convinced of this. It is well for the small farmer to have a rich neighbor to take the lead in the use of expensive machinery, the introduction of blooded stock, and in other experiments, which, if disastrous, would ruin a poor man; it is well for common schools to be under the influence of the best universities, without which their work is likely to be indifferent. Why, it is often held to be a misfortune for a boy to belong to a class in school or college which he can lead. It is, as a rule, much better that there should be those associated with him who are abler than he, that they may serve as a constant stimulus to him.

7. If your demands are right, if they are reasonable, then you will win and hold your gain. The world will listen even to socialism, if properly presented. If you keep to the right, the world will come to you. The right is bound to win. Educate, organize, wait.

8. Christ and all Christly people are with you for the right. Never let go that confidence. This is a sure guarantee of the successful issue of every good cause, the righting of every wrong. Christ forever elevated labor and exalted the laborer. He worked himself and he sought his associates and the first members of his church among workingmen, men rude and ignorant, and certainly no better than the workingmen of to-day. As Charles Kingsley has said, "The Bible is the rich man's warning and the poor man's comfort."

You cannot proclaim the wrongs under which you suffer with

half the force with which they are condemned in the Bible. All the social arrangement of the Hebrews were contrived with a view to the protection of the weaker industrial elements, and where will you find a stronger condemnation of monopoly than this: "Wo unto them that join house to house, that lay field to field, till there be no place that they may be placed alone in the midst of the earth"? And where will you find a more terrible indictment of the rich oppressor than in these verses from the Epistle of James?

"Go to now, ye rich men, weep and howl for your miseries that shall come upon you. Your riches are corrupted, and your garments moth-eaten. Your gold and silver is cankered; and the rust of them shall be a witness against you, and shall eat your flesh as it were fire. Ye have heaped treasure together for the last days. Behold, the hire of your laborers who have reaped down your fields, which is of you kept back by fraud, crieth; and the cries of them which have reaped are entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth."

But while the Bible is a good armory from which you may draw weapons of attack, it at the same time points out the right course for you to take, and furnishes you with that comfort and hope which will enable you to continue your efforts for righteousness, without the dangers of hate and bitterness. It discourages no good effort; but even James follows his awful condemnation of the oppressor with these wise words, "Be ye also patient; stablish your hearts; for the coming of the Lord draweth nigh." No political economist can give you better advice. So when you are exhorted to faithful service, you are exhorted to a line of conduct quite in keeping with the teachings of science. And the peace and contentment which are promised good Christians have a high economic value, and in the brotherly love of those who have a common Father will you alone find that bond of union which can render your joint efforts completely successful.

"The church is unfaithful and is now an ally of Mammon." These are words frequently spoken by workingmen, and they are too true of individual church organizations. But the false coin does not detract from the worth of the genuine. Among the

twelve Apostles there was a Judas. Churches often are devoted to fashion, and are become "of the world," yet the faith they profess and the Bible which they receive is a constant warning to them against their departure from the true path. But even to-day enumerate the men outside of the laboring class who are prominent for their advocacy of the cause of labor. Write all the names on a slip of paper and cross out the names of clergymen, and you will find three-fourths of them gone. No other large and influential class in the United States is so devoted to your welfare, and I know how to give you no better advice than to urge you to seek counsel and friendly aid in all your endeavors from Christian ministers and search in the religion of the Master whom they worship, for that strength, bravery, consecration, which will render you invincible in your endeavors to serve humanity.

RICHARD T. ELY.

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY,
BALTIMORE, MD., August, 1886.

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THE LABOR MOVEMENT IN AMERICA.

CHAPTER I.

SURVEY OF THE FIELD.

THE great forces of nature are invisible and work below the surface of things, and that which is most real is the unseen. He who would understand nature must go behind the veil of illusions, under which she conceals herself from the unwelcome gaze of the careless and indifferent.

The student of social science finds himself at the outset in a similar position. He also speedily discovers "that things which are seen were not made of things which do appear," and no better illustration of this can be afforded than that offered us by the history of the labor movement in America. Investigation soon reveals in this movement one of the chief social forces working among us, yet it is quite unknown in its operations to the ordinary man or woman outside of the laboring classes, while the vast majority of those who in their own persons bear forward the movement have but a glimmering apprehension of its true import.

We read of the marvels of past eras, but the number is small indeed who realize that no previous age was more eventful in the life of economic and industrial society than that in which we are now living. To-day we are the specta-

tors of a most marvellous act in the great world-drama. Yet it is necessary to add at once that we are in the position of those who seeing see not, or see but dimly. On the one hand, attention has not been sufficiently directed to the phenomena of the unparalleled social movement in which we live; on the other, it is difficult for us who are in it and of it to secure a vantage-ground from which to get large views. In his life of Cobden, Morley says: "Great economic and social forces flow with a tidal sweep over communities that are only half conscious of that which is befalling them." Such is the epoch in which we find ourselves.

Great as are the difficulties in the way, it is nevertheless possible to ascertain something of the social movement of which we form a part. Last summer I spent some time with the Shakers, and when with them, separated as I was from the ordinary life of mankind and talking with my good friends about the world movements of this century, the feeling grew upon me that I was in a social observatory, viewing as from another planet the buying and selling, the hurrying to and fro, the marrying and the giving in marriage, the toil, the pleasure, the vanity, the oppression, the good and the evil among men on earth; and I noticed afterward in a letter from one of the Shakers the expression, "Our social watch-tower." But even without such a social observatory, one may step aside and note what the other actors are doing on the great stage of social life; and records — obscure and imperfect, to be sure, still valuable records — of the past have been preserved. It is not then a fruitless task to endeavor to mark off the distance travelled, to ascertain the direction of present motion, and to get an approximate idea of the speed with which we are moving.

What is the labor movement? This question brings us to the heart of things. We do not concern ourselves now with

accessories, important as they may be; but we desire to know the ultimate significance of the mighty social forces which are beginning to shake the earth. The labor movement, then, in its broadest terms, is the effort of men to live the life of men. It is the systematic, organized struggle of the masses to attain primarily more leisure and larger economic resources; but that is not by any means all, because the end and purpose of it all is a richer existence for the toilers, and that with respect to mind, soul, and body. Half conscious though it may be, the labor movement is a force pushing on towards the attainment of the purpose of humanity; in other words, the end of the true growth of mankind; namely, the full and harmonious development in each individual of all human faculties — the faculties of working, perceiving, knowing, loving — the development, in short, of whatever capabilities of good there may be in us. And this development of human powers in the individual is not to be entirely for self, but it is to be for the sake of their beneficent use in the service of one's fellows in a Christian civilization. It is for self and for others; it is the realization of the ethical aim expressed in that command which contains the secret of all true progress, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." It is directed against oppression in every form, because oppression carries with it the idea that persons or classes live not to fulfil a destiny of their own, but primarily and chiefly for the sake of the welfare of other persons or classes. The true significance of the labor movement, on the contrary, lies in this: it is an attempt to bring to pass the idea of human development which has animated sages, prophets, and poets of all ages; the idea that a time must come when warfare of all kinds shall cease, and when a peaceful organization of society shall find a place within its framework for the best growth of each personality, and shall

abolish all servitude, in which one "but subserves another's gain."

The labor movement represents mankind as it is represented by no other manifestation of the life of the nations of the earth, because the vast majority of the race are laborers.

Embracing, then, all modern lands, and in our own country extending from the shores of the Atlantic to the waters of the Pacific, and from the sources of the Mississippi to the Gulf of Mexico, it is but natural that it should assume a great variety of forms; nor should it excite surprise to discover attempts to divert the movement from its true path into destructive byways. False guides are ever found combating the true leaders, and there is backward motion as well as advance. But frequent whirlpools and innumerable eddies do not prevent the onward flow of the mighty stream!

Socialism, communism, co-operation, trades-unions and labor societies, mutual benefit organizations of one kind and another, also, alas! anarchy and nihilism, are different lines along which are directed the efforts of the masses to attain improved conditions and relations in industrial society.

A radical difference separates these schemes into two general classes. Some of them accept the fundamental positions of our existing order. They ask no thoroughgoing reconstruction of our economic institutions, but contemplate the continuance of such far-reaching existing facts as private property in land with its rent, private property in capital with its profits, the system of freedom of contract and the division of men into two classes in economic society; namely, employers and employees. Schemes of this first order imply, even when they do not explicitly avow, that without considerable change in fundamental principles it is possible for the laboring masses to abolish the most

grievous evils under which they suffer, and to effect such amelioration in their condition as may be rationally contemplated either in the present or in any near future. This is essentially the position of the trades-unions and of the ordinary labor organizations; yet there is a difference.

A conservative trades-unionist of the old school would very likely affirm that natural laws set fixed bounds to improvement which rendered illusory all hopes of anything beyond what efforts directed along this line could accomplish. The more modern and more radical trades-unionist, like the members of the Cigar Makers' Progressive Union of America, of the Journeymen Bakers' National Union, and of the International Furniture Workers' Union, holds to old methods, it is true, but only for the present, and in the present largely as a means of education, rather than for what can be directly attained by them. This idea is forcibly expressed in the following quotation from the Declaration of Principles of the Federative Union of Metal Workers of America: "The entire abolition of the present system of society can alone emancipate the workers, being replaced by a new system based upon co-operative organization of production in a free society. . . . Our organization should be a school to educate its members for the new conditions of society when the workers will regulate their own affairs."

The more modern trades-unionist, while working along old lines, is then looking forward to something far more radical, — something which, as regards ultimate aims, places him among those who hold to social schemes of the second class.

The practical plans and speculations of this class are built up on the hypothesis that existing social, economic, and legal institutions do not admit the possibility of satisfactory living, but render the robbery of the many by the few

something so inevitable that the few themselves could scarcely prevent it, even if they all, without dissenting voice, wished to do so. But this is not all, for this is only the dark side of the picture. Pessimists as to the present, the adherents of these views are optimists as to the future, for it is assumed that it is possible for men to introduce new foundation principles into society which will remedy this unhappy condition of things; which will indeed banish it forever from the earth. This is the position of socialism, which holds that justice in the distribution of the good things of life is to be attained in common and systematic production in a re-created state, where men shall receive the means of enjoyment in proportion to the service they have rendered to society. Communism presupposes a like transformation, but seeks justice in equality; while anarchism would abolish all existing compulsory institutions, and would let men freely build such social structures as inclination and uncontrolled desire might prompt.

Co-operation occupies a place midway between these two positions taken by the old trades-unions and socialism respectively. It begins within the framework of present industrial society, but proposes to transform it gradually and peacefully, but completely, by abolishing a distinct capitalist class of employers, the leading class at present in that society, comprising those who are not inappropriately called captains of industry. Co-operation does not desire fundamental change of law, for it hopes by means of voluntary associations to unite labor and capital in the same hands — the hands of the actual workers. Repudiating State help, it proudly adopts as its device, self-help.

CHAPTER II.

EARLY AMERICAN COMMUNISM.

THE practical character of the American is a matter of common report and a cause of national pride. The citizen of the New World is not content with mere speculation; his nature craves action, and nowhere else does practice follow so closely upon theory. This trait shows itself in social movements as well as elsewhere. Young as is America, she has already furnished a field for the trial of a large number of romantic ideals of a socialistic nature, and promises ere long to outstrip all that has been accomplished by all other nations in all past time in the way of social experimentation.

Confining ourselves for the present to attempts to realize various forms of socialism and communism, the mind naturally reverts to the "oldest American charter," under which the first English settlement was made on American soil. One condition stipulated by King James was a common storehouse into which products were to be poured, and from which they were to be distributed according to the needs of the colonists, and this was the industrial Constitution under which the first inhabitants of Jamestown lived for five years,[1] during which the idlers gave so much trouble that the old soldier, Captain John Smith, was forced to declare in vigorous language, and with threats not to be misunderstood, that "he that will not work shall not eat." "Dream no longer," continued Smith, "of this vain hope from Powhatan, or that

[1] Cooke's "Virginia," Chap. III. The date of the charter is 1606.

I will longer forbear to force you from your idleness or punish you if you rail. I protest by that God that made me, since necessity hath no power to force you to gather for yourselves, you shall not only gather for yourselves, but for those that are sick. They shall not starve."[1]

The first Pilgrims who emigrated to New England were bound by a somewhat similar arrangement which they had entered into with London merchants, but the issue of the experiment was not more successful, and it was partially abandoned; not wholly, for a great deal of land was long after held in common, and, indeed, to-day, there are small parcels of this land still common property.[2] As is well known, the Boston common is but a survival of early communism, as in fact its very name indicates.

It must be acknowledged that comparatively little importance attaches to either of these experiments. The Jamestown communism seems never to have been regarded as anything more than a temporary makeshift, and the similar arrangement in New England was of a like nature. There exist to-day in America far larger and more important communistic societies living in peace and great comfort, even in wealth. As far as the common lands are concerned, they are part of a large system of early landholding which still survives to greater or less extent both in America and Europe. It is further worthy of notice in this connection that before the white man invaded America only common property in land prevailed. The American Indians held their hunting-grounds in common; at most, there was a tribal right of usufruct, founded on possession and maintained by arms. Even at the present day it is seriously doubted

[1] Cooke, l.c., p. 54.

[2] H. B. Adams, "Germanic Origin of New England Towns," Studies I. No. 2, p. 33.

whether surviving Indians are ripe for the institution of private property in land, as it is understood by us; and some such restriction as that of inalienability is urged in case land is given to them in severalty.

A more serious endeavor to introduce what may be called village communison, was made in the latter part of the eighteenth century. "Mother" Ann Lee, with a few followers, came to this country from England, in 1774, in obedience to heavenly visions, in order that they might lead a life in accordance with their convictions. They were originally Quakers, but were called "Shaking Quakers" on account of their movements of the body in their religious exercises; finally they dropped the designation Quaker, as the difference between them and the society of Friends became more marked, and took the name which had been conferred in ridicule.

The Shakers settled at Watervliet, near Albany, in 1776, and taught celibacy and the doctrine of non-resistance. Their idea of the sinfulness of war brought them into trouble, as our War of the Revolution was then in progress. "Some designing men," says one of their number, "accused them of being unfriendly to the patriotic cause, from the fact of their bearing a testimony against war in general." They were brought before the Commissioners of Albany, and ordered to take the oath of allegiance, but this they could not do, for swearing was contrary to their faith. Several of them, among whom was Ann Lee, were cast into prison.

It is scarcely necessary to add that the charge was quite groundless. Mother Ann had prophesied before her emigration that the American colonies would become free and independent, and to this day the Shakers retain a peculiar affection for America, holding that in this republic alone can their experiments succeed at present.

Mother Ann Lee taught the duties of love and universal beneficence, as well as the obligation to abstain from oaths, war, and marriage, but did not establish the communistic order. Her temporal economy was summed up in these words: "You must be prudent and saving of every good thing that God blesses you with, that you may have to give to the needy. You could not make either a kernel of grain or a spear of grass grow, if you knew you must die for the want of it.

"The Gospel is the greatest treasure that souls can possess. Be faithful; put your hands to work and your hearts to God. Beware of covetousness, which is as the sin of witchcraft. If you have anything to spare, give it to the poor."[1]

Mother Ann, however, foretold that her successor, Joseph Meacham, once a Baptist minister, would establish the community of goods after her death. She died in 1784, and three years later the order of communism was established among this people and has been retained ever since. The year 1787 is then the time when communism of this kind was first established in America, and the first community was located at Mt. Lebanon, Columbia County, New York, which is still the home of the strongest Shaker settlement.

The Shakers live in groups or families with common production and equal enjoyment of whatever is produced, and their order of life might be called group communism as well as village communism, to distinguish it from the larger national organization of communistic life which is the ideal of the more modern communists. This communism is a part of their religious life, and flows naturally from it. It must be regarded as a kind of Christian communism, and is stated by them in these words: —

[1] See "Ann Lee, the Founder of the Shakers," etc., by F. W Evans, p. 146.

"The bond of union which unites all Shakers is spiritual and religious, hence unselfish. All are equal before God and one another; and, as in the institution of the primitive Christian Church, all share one interest in spiritual and temporal blessings, according to individual needs; no rich, no poor. The strong bear the infirmities of the weak, and all are sustained, promoting each other in Christian fellowship, as one family of brethren and sisters in Christ."[1]

These simple people fail to see how those who profess to be followers of Christ can tolerate luxury and poverty side by side among brothers and sisters, for this does not seem to them compatible with Christian love.

Perhaps their ideas on this point cannot be better presented than by a quotation from an article written by one of the elders of the society at Watervliet, New York, and published in the "Shaker and Shakeress" in November, 1874. The article is entitled "Serious Questions of the Hour," and in the form of a catechism gives the views of the Shakers on war, property, and marriage. The part about property and communism is headed "Selfishness," and reads as follows: "Does Christianity admit of private property? It does not; never did. Do Christian churches permit distinctions of dress, diet, or other comforts, among the members? Never. Are there any rich or poor Christians? None whatever. Why are there so many rich, and particularly why are there so many poor, in the so-called Christian churches of to-day? Because such churches are not Christian. Can these be brethren and sisters of Christ while faring so unequally? Never. Why are there no rich nor poor in Christ's church? The formerly rich 'lay down' their plenty; the formerly poor do likewise with their pov-

[1] Quoted from "American Communities," by Wm. Alfred Hinds, Oneida, N. Y., 1878.

erty, and hence share equally. Who, then, are the rich and poor? The children of *un*resurrection, who will give up neither their riches nor poverty for the Gospel's sake. Who amass fortunes and live in palatial residences? Unfeeling men and women, erroneously termed Christians, who are careless of how many are made correspondingly poor. . . . What wonderful phenomena accompany conversions to Christianity? *Mine* becomes *Ours!* Riches and poverty, with their miseries, disappear."

The number of the Shakers soon began to increase, and large accessions were "gathered in" during revivals in the East, West, and South, and before the close of the century societies were established in New York, Massachusetts, Ohio, Kentucky, and elsewhere. They have now seventeen societies and about seventy communities,[1] as a society may include several "families," or communities. The largest society, at Mt. Lebanon, comprises nearly four hundred souls, and it is there that Elder Frederick W. Evans, the best known of the Shakers, resides. Their numbers have declined in recent years, but they claim, all told, still some four thousand members, while their property is of great value. They like to say little about property and numbers, as they have small respect for the "statistical fiend" so common among us, and feel that a numerical table cannot properly measure either their success or their influence. One who has been some time with them, estimates their property at twelve millions of dollars at least.

Economically, the Shakers have been a complete success, and it is said that there has never been a failure among them. They look forward to the future with hope, believing that their history has just begun. Some of them lament

[1] The number exceeded seventy at one time. It is probably considerably below that now.

their large possessions as contrary to their principles; for they believe in land-reform, or the doctrine that man has the right of usufruct in land only, the right of possession but not the right of property; in the second place, they abhor the whole hireling system which their great property forces upon them. But they expect large accessions in the future. They hold their gates open to the elect from all parts of the world, and they keep their property in trust for future Shakers.

This order of communism is, then, thoroughly alive and is seeking converts. It sends out tracts and newspapers and scatters abroad its invitations to the sons and daughters of men to retire from the world and to lead a higher, celibate or virgin life, free from all worldly anxieties. At the same time, it must always be borne in mind that the Shakers do not expect ever to draw the entire world into their communities, nor do they regard the communistic order as suitable for the "generative" outside world. It is the life for the choice spirits among men, who have outgrown the natural tendencies of their animal nature and desire, an existence in which angelic possibilities are materialized on earth. Communism is the order for those who neither marry nor are given in marriage. To such the Shaker family is the single centre of all interests and affections, while the introduction of the ordinary family would bring in, so they think, separate centres of force and action, which would destroy the unity of their life. They hold, however, that socialism may be adapted to the world at large.

The Shakers are the most successful, and it may at the same time be said the most promising, example of communism in the United States, and as such deserve special consideration. It is certain that the outside world has much to learn from those pure, simple people, whose self-sacrificing

life exercises such a charm over the thoughtful who come in contact with them.

One of the first things to attract attention is the peacefulness of their countenance, which reminds one of Christ's words, "Peace I leave with you; my peace I give unto you." Howells, who has passed some time with them, describes them in his "Undiscovered Country," and speaks of their "placidity" as well as "their truth, charity, and purity of life, and that scarcely less lovable quaintness to which no realism could do perfect justice"; and there seems to be no reason to doubt the assertion of one of Howell's characters, "They're what they seem; that's their great ambition."[1]

The writer observed this same peace at the village of Economy, which will be mentioned presently. Why, it may be asked, is this peace, which ought to characterize all Christians, found among these communists and not generally among church-members? It is possible that freedom from all worldly care and from the anxieties of riches and poverty has something to do with this. It is possible that it is because these people have found in Christianity not merely a creed but an order of life. They take up their cross and endeavor to apply their Christian principles to all relations of life. But it is well to say something about the other communistic settlements in America before attempting to characterize the Shakers more accurately, as some things are common to them and other communists.

Early in this century another body of communists came to the United States from Germany to escape religious persecution. They are called Harmonists, and after a period of migration, settled at Economy, near Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, where they now reside. Their first leader, George

[1] See also his sketch of Shirley in his "Three Villages." Boston 1884.

Rapp, a man of great ability and extraordinary force of character, commanded their confidence, and governed the community with such prudence and foresight as to lay the foundations of their present wealth, which is estimated at various sums, ranging from ten to forty millions of dollars. The former figure appears to be a rational estimate. They have, then, undoubtedly been successful in the accumulation of property, but their numbers have declined. At one time Economy was inhabited by a thousand Harmonists; but at present their membership does not exceed forty. They received their last accessions seven years ago, and nearly all of them are now old men and women. It is evident that the order will soon cease to exist, unless they decide to add to their roll of members. Originally they married, but, becoming convinced many years ago that celibacy was a higher form of life, they have since then lived together as brothers and sisters. Their communism is a part of their religion, and to them, indeed, it appears like an essential part of Christianity.

The Germans have also established other communities, as at Zoar, Tuscarawas County, Ohio, and at Amana, in Iowa, in both of which marriage is allowed. With the exceptions of the Shaker communities these are the two strongest communistic societies in the United States.

Zoar was founded in 1817 by Separatists, a religious sect of Würtemberg, who rebelled against the formalities of the established religion because they did not seem to them to make people better. They also objected to war, and consequently could not serve in the army. Persecuted on account of their peculiarities, they fled to America, and, with the assistance of Quakers of Philadelphia, who were doubtless drawn to them by similarity of belief, they acquired the large tract of land, on which they now live. The communistic order was an afterthought, and was established in

1819 in order to save the property of all, as the members did not seem able to stand alone, many of them not being able to pay for their separate holdings. They continued to thrive many years under the leadership of Joseph Bäumeler, who died in 1853, and their prosperity has continued unabated since his day, though no one has ever attained the same esteem and the same position in leadership. They now own several thousand acres of land, besides manufacturing establishments, and all their property is valued at about a million and a half of dollars. They number some three hundred and ninety souls at present, so that the per capita wealth is about $5,000, while in the whole United States it is estimated to be under $1,000. They live in families, labor diligently, but do not overwork, have one common fund, and get whatever they need without money and without price. They are religious, but do not appear to be so devout as the Harmonists or Shakers, the latter of whom, indeed, believe in a life of total exemption from sin.

The membership of the Amana community, or communities, for there are seven of them, is much larger. This society embraces about eighteen hundred members, and owns upwards of twenty-five thousand acres of land. The Amana community originated in Germany sixty-six years ago, and established the order of communism near Buffalo in 1842, whence they emigrated to Iowa in 1855. They furnish the most remarkable example of communism in conjunction with the institution of marriage and the family to be found in this country, but the religious life with them is also primary, and money-making only a secondary object.

The French have established a remarkable community, called Icaria, in which they have attempted to realize the pure non-religious communism of Cabet, the author of the charming communistic romance, "Voyage en Icarie."

The Icarians came to America in 1848, and were under the personal direction of Cabet for several years, during which they achieved a remarkable degree of prosperity. Their eventful and picturesque history, perhaps the most interesting and instructive chapter in the annals of this early American communism, is narrated in Dr. Shaw's admirable book, "Icaria."[1] The work "Icaria," at once pathetic and romantic, gives us such an insight into the nature of the earlier phases of communism in America, as is afforded by no other publication, and to it the reader is referred for further information in regard to this subject.

Not one of these communities was established by Americans. The Shakers are now composed, it is probable, chiefly of Americans, but the others are still perhaps foreign in character. But native-born citizens have also founded communities, and of them the most prosperous was that of the Perfectionists, at Oneida, New York, whose builder was John Humphrey Noyes, son of a member of Congress. The family of Mr. Noyes is one of the best in the country. The former minister to France, who bore the same name, was a distant relative. His mother was a Miss Hayes, and he himself was first cousin to ex-President Hayes. Mr. Noyes was a well-educated man, having studied at Dartmouth and Yale Colleges and at Andover Theological Seminary. He was a man of fine natural ability, with great powers as a leader. This community was remarkable for the number of college-bred men it contained. There were several graduates from Yale among them, and at least one graduate from Columbia College of New York.

Several peculiarities of the Oneida Perfectionists are calculated to attract attention. They believed in freedom from sin, though in this they did not differ from members of

[1] New York, 1884.

other communities, in particular the Shakers. One of their most remarkable institutions was called "Mutual Criticism," which proved so useful to them that they declared it impossible to establish successful communism without it. Without entering into a lengthy description of its details, it may be said that the members met together at regular intervals for criticism of members to their face. This was designed to take the place of gossip and backbiting in ordinary society and to utilize the force which was thus wasted. It is said that it was sufficient for disciplinary purposes, that it led the members to improve themselves in mind, soul, and body, and rendered every member more agreeable to every other member. It was even introduced in their school, and worked successfully, as I was told, by their schoolmaster. If Master Johnny made some cruel remark, the teacher would perhaps ask one of his mates what he thought. "I don't think it was very kind of Johnny to say that." Then as the young man was under criticism, another would be asked, "What do you think of Johnny?" when a reply like this might be received: "I don't think he is very polite to the girls. He teases them too much." And as one after another of his little mates expresses an opinion, Master Johnny blushes and hangs his head in shame and mortification, but for many days thereafter he is a model boy. The powers attributed to mutual criticism were marvellous, and included even the ability to heal disease when administered to the sick.

But another peculiarity of the Perfectionists was their free-love practices within the community itself. They regarded the community as one great family, and attempted to repress any exclusive affections within their order. They held that a person can love many persons at the same time as well as at different times, and regarded exclusiveness in person as

sinful for them as in property. Diligent students of Darwin, Huxley, and other scientists, they attempted to apply their principles in raising men.[1] All this was so repugnant to the moral sense of the people of New York State that it brought upon them the constant ill will of the public, and finally threats of legislative interference and suppression by law. Mr. Noyes found it expedient to fly to Canada, where he died, April 13, 1886. These loose practices were abandoned in 1879; at any rate, in that year all those who chose were allowed to marry, and in 1881 the society became an ordinary joint-stock concern, and so terminated this communistic experiment; though many of the old members still remain attached to their former principles and believe in their ultimate triumph. Economically, the Perfectionists also succeeded. At the time the joint-stock corporation was formed they were over two hundred strong, and their property was valued at $600,000. Their credit has been, and as a corporation is still, the best. They pursued a diversified industry, and have been successful as agriculturists, manufacturers, and packers of fruit, meats, etc. They attribute their financial prosperity largely to the fact of the variety of their enterprises, because if one did not prosper, another would. Their old establishment — a beautiful place, with handsome grounds and fine buildings — is still maintained, as well as a large silver-plating establishment and other smaller concerns at Niagara. They claim that they were not sensual, but exercised self-control, and point to their success in business as a proof of their assertions. Odious as their practices must

[1] It is impossible to go into this unpleasant subject further in a work of this kind. It has been treated from a medical standpoint by Dr. Ely Van De Warker under the title of "A Gynecological Study of the Oneida Community," in the *American Journal of Obstetrics and Diseases of Women and Children*, for August, 1884.

appear to one who believes in the divinity of the monogamic family, it seems necessary to admit that they lived quietly and peacefully, and conscientiously discharged all financial engagements, so as to win the good-will of many of their immediate neighbors. They did not design, any more than do the Shakers, to take the whole world into their community life; but evidently intended that as a basis for literary and other propaganda. Mr. Noyes desired ultimately to establish a daily newspaper to convert the world to his views.

Space is too limited to permit the enumeration of the many other communities established in America. The two great periods of a revival of interest in communism, and the foundation of village communities based on that principle, are, 1826, when Robert Owen visited this country and received distinguished attention from the American people, and 1842–46, when, under the lead of Horace Greeley, Albert Brisbane, Charles A. Dana, and others, Fourierism extended itself rapidly over the country. Mr. Noyes in his work, "History of American Socialisms," mentions eleven communities founded during the first period, and thirty-four which owed their origin to the second revival of communism. It is safe to say that considerably over one hundred, possibly two hundred, communistic villages have been founded in the United States, although comparatively few yet live. There are perhaps from seventy to eighty communities at present in the United States, with a membership of from six to seven thousand, and property the value of which may be roughly estimated at twenty-five or thirty millions of dollars.

The history of the Fourieristic phalanxes founded in America is peculiarly interesting and instructive. They represent a compromise between communism and our present industrial system, which in the day of Fourierism was

peculiarly attractive to the intellect and heart of our American people, and it may be safely said that no radical social movement among us ever received such generous and widespread support. This is not the place to go into an account of Fourier's teachings,[1] but it may be said that the central idea was to effect a satisfactory union between capital, skill, and labor by awarding a definite fixed share to each. Albert Brisbane, the most ardent disciple of Fourierism in the United States, wrote an exposition of the doctrine entitled "Social Destiny of Man, or Association and Reorganization of Industry." The work was published in Philadelphia in 1840 and attracted wide attention in its day. The chief organ of Fourier's doctrine, although not officially called such, was the *New York Tribune*, then edited by Horace Greeley, whose warm heart responded eagerly to any apparently rational plan for the amelioration of the lot of man. The three most celebrated Fourieristic phalanxes were the famous Brook Farm, the North American Phalanx, and the Wisconsin Phalanx, called Ceresco. Although these eventually died like all other attempts to realize the Fourieristic ideal in the United States,[2] they were not devoid of a certain success. Brook Farm lived six years and was a source of gratification and perhaps spiritual and moral profit to its members. Although in many respects poorly managed, it struggled along until a disastrous fire placed too heavy a load upon its members, and it wound up its affairs. *The Harbinger*, the official organ of Fourierism, was published at Brook Farm.

The North American Phalanx, in Monmouth County,

[1] A brief resumé may be found in Ely's "French and German Socialism," Chap. V.

[2] M. Godin's successful experiment at Guise, France, is a modification of Fourierism.

New Jersey, near Red Bank, was established in 1843, and was wrecked by a fire in 1854, although it lingered until 1856 before it drew its last breath. It furnished a pleasant home to many, and descriptions of numerous enjoyable occasions at the North American may still be read. Notwithstanding its losses, it was able to pay sixty-six cents on a dollar when its affairs were closed.

The Wisconsin Phalanx was founded in 1844, and finally became Ripon of the present day. It prospered greatly, and finally fell apart of its own weight, because there was no vital coherent principle to hold its members together. It paid one hundred and eight cents on the dollar in 1850. The work began with "unwonted enthusiasm"; the life was agreeable; but the gold fever drew off some of the young men in 1848, and in two years it was decided to return to ordinary industrial life.

What appeared to be the strength of Fourierism was, doubtless, its weakness. It was a compromise; an attempt, as it were, to serve two masters. The Fourierites always kept back something, and never gave their entire heart to this cause. It was an attempt to modify essentially the principle of private property, and to change human feeling with reference to it while still retaining it. This could not work well; at any rate, did not work well. In the North American Phalanx the members invested savings outside of the community because they could obtain larger returns on their capital, and the capital of the Phalanx was largely the property of non-residents who became tired of the experiment, and preferred to sell the property rather than erect new buildings in the place of those destroyed by fire, although there is reason to believe that the communists might have prospered for some years to come, and perchance might indeed have become the one successful phalanx in America.

Again, Fourierism retained sweeping inequalities, while it condemned the inequalities of the outside world. The only successful examples of communism in America have been forms of pure communism in which all the interests of the members of the body have been permanently united to the body.

Forty years ago men of high education and large ability thought that communistic villages would revolutionize the economic life of the world. The process, a speedy but peaceful one, was viewed in this way: The community where all live together harmoniously as brothers with no *meum et tuum*, but with all things in common, affords the only escape from the warring, competitive world of the present, where some die of excessive indulgence in luxuries, and others of starvation, and where the future of no one is secure. When a few communities have been established, the happy Christian life which men there lead will attract the attention of outsiders and win them to join the brotherhood of communism. Thus community will follow community with ever-accelerating ratio until the entire earth is redeemed. Cabet, for example, "allowed fifty years for a peaceful transition from our present economic life to communism. In the interval, various measures were to be introduced by legislation to pave the way to the new system. Among these may be mentioned communistic training for children, a minimum of wages, exemption of the poor from all taxes, and progressive taxation for the rich. But 'the system of absolute equality, of community of goods and of labor, will not be obliged to be applied completely, perfectly, universally, and definitely, until the expiration of fifty years.'"[1]

All these hopes have been generally abandoned as idle dreams, and it is due largely to experiments made in

[1] Ely's "French and German Socialism," p. 50.

America that the enthusiasts of fifty and sixty years ago have been disillusionized. It is not that the communistic life itself has in every case proved a disappointment. On the contrary, thousands have clung to it with affection through trial, adversity, and evil report, and have felt themselves amply repaid for every sacrifice in their new life, while others who have abandoned it, have looked back upon their experience with fond regret. Thus one member of the celebrated Brook Farm community uses these words with reference to their feelings in regard to that experiment: "The life which we now lead, though to a superficial observer surrounded with so many imperfections and embarrassments, is far superior to what we were ever able to attain in common society. There is a freedom from the frivolities of fashion, from arbitrary restrictions, and from the frenzy of competition. . . . There is a greater variety of employments, a more constant demand for the exertion of all the faculties, and a more exquisite pleasure in effort, from the consciousness that we are laboring, not for personal ends, but for a holy principle; and even the external sacrifices which the pioneers in every enterprise are obliged to make, are not without a certain romantic charm."

But the communities failed to win adherents, often failed to continue their own existence. Unthought-of obstacles were encountered in human nature. Idleness was an evil occasionally contended with, though this seems rarely to have been a cause of any serious trouble. Petty jealousies have proved more serious, and personal differences, such as are bound to spring up among unregenerate men living in any close connection, have been rocks upon which many a community has made shipwreck. During a period of poverty the struggle for existence has often knit the members of communities firmly together into a compact whole,

which has become disorganized by the inability to endure the severer trials of a period of prosperity when factions arise and party bickerings become intolerable. Then the life is too small and commonplace to satisfy the cravings of many of larger natures. There is little scope for ambition, and ambition is one of the chief traits of mankind. Zoar furnishes illustration. The young men of ability often long for a wider sphere and leave on that account. One of these seceders was recently mayor of Cleveland, Ohio.

Cleverly contrived and fantastic arrangements like those of Fourieristic phalanxes have never been found to exercise any magic qualities either on converts or the sinful world. Men have not been attracted sufficiently to join the communities in large numbers, because, either for good or for ill, the spirit of the selfish world has been too strong to be deeply touched by the spectacle of generous self-renouncing communism. The flesh-pots of the Egypt of competition have proved stronger than the Canaan of communism, though the latter even now often flows with abundance of milk and honey. Yet this early American communism has rich lessons to teach men if we will but take the trouble to gather them, and we have reason to be grateful to two classes of men on this account.

John Stuart Mill, whose writings are a constant rebuke to narrow and petty fears entertained by those who dread any innovation, urged long ago that the utmost freedom ought to be given to those who desire to conduct social experiments, and that they should indeed be encouraged in every way. We have reason to be grateful that America has been large enough and brave enough to afford a home to those who desired to establish communistic settlements. We have reason to be grateful to those men who have encountered the prejudice of small souls and have shown what their

settlements can do and also what they cannot do. It is much to be desired that Americans should take this lesson to heart; for there seems to be at present among us an un-American fear of new social ideas, whereas, our only danger consists in a dearth of them. While all violence either of workingman or capitalist, should be put down with an iron hand, we should keep our minds open for new truth and afford every opportunity for social experiments. We can well begin our consideration of the lessons we have to learn from our communistic settlements by a long quotation from an able thinker who saw much of them. Horace Greeley commenting on early American communism in his "Autobiography," says: "We stand, then, in the presence of this state of facts: On the one hand, it is proved difficult to create and maintain a more trustful and harmonious social structure out of such materials as the old social machinery has formed, — or rather, we may say practically, out of such materials as the old machinery has expelled and rejected; yet we know, on the other hand, that a more — yes, I will say it — Christian Social Order is not impossible. For it is more than half a century since the first associations of the gentle ascetics contemptuously termed Shakers, were formed, and no one will pretend that they have failed. No; they have steadily and eminently expanded and increased in wealth and every element of material prosperity, until they are at this day just objects of envy to their neighbors. They produce no paupers; they excrete no beggars; they have no idlers, rich or poor; no purse-proud nabobs, no cringing slaves. So far are they from pecuniary failure, that they alone have known no such word as fail, since, amid poverty and odium, they laid the foundations of their social edifice, and inscribed 'Holiness to the Lord' above their gates. They may not have attempted

the highest nor the wisest achievement; but what they attempted they have accomplished, and, if there were no other success akin to theirs, — but there is, — it would still be a demonstrated truth that men and women can live and labor for general, not selfish, good, — can banish pauperism, servitude, and idleness, and secure general thrift and plenty, by moderate co-operative labor and a complete identity of interests. Of this truth, each year offers added demonstrations; but if they were all to cease to-morrow, the fact that it had been proved, would remain. Perhaps no Plato, no Scipio, no Columbus, no Milton, now exists; but the capacity of the race is still measured and assured by the great men and great deeds that have been. Man *can* work for his brother's good as well as his own; an unbroken, triumphant experience of half a century has established the fact, so that fifty centuries of contrary experience would not disprove it."

One point which deserves consideration in a treatment of American communities is the diversity of employment which is allowable in them. This gives opportunity for a fuller development of all faculties than falls to the lot of the ordinary laborer, and also gives an economic security to persons who follow this life, which is something unusual in these days. There have been many failures among communities and perhaps more relatively than in ordinary business enterprises, but it is difficult to conceive of anything which could cause the failure of the Shakers at Mt. Lebanon, and very likely the same may be said of Zoar and Amana.

The pleasure of co-operative labor is a noticeable feature of community life when seen at its best. It may not be greater than that taken by the artist or literary man in his work, but it far surpasses the satisfaction with which the

ordinary isolated laborer performs his task. It is work of brothers and sisters together for common ends, and testimony in favor of this is very general. A former member of the Icarian community uses these words in describing his toil while a resident of Icaria: "We all worked together in groups as much as practicable, first at one thing, then at another, thus with many hands making our work light and more profitable and pleasant at the same time. We had neither employer or employee, but we were all equal partners, and by thus working together with a united interest our labor was more like a game of pleasure than the tedious and tiresome way of either working alone or with superiors or inferiors in the shape of bosses or servants."

The communists enjoy good health and live to great age, and I think it is true of them generally that they give much attention to the rules of health. This is certainly the case with the Shakers, with whom hygiene is a matter of religion. "The two bases of morality," says Daniel Fraser, a Shaker with whom I have held many delightful conversations, "are access to the land and hygiene." The Shakers expect in the future to abolish disease and ill-health from among them. Even now they live to be very old. There had been three deaths at Mt. Lebanon during the year previous to my visit. Two of them were brothers aged eighty-seven and ninety-one respectively. The third was a sister aged one hundred and eight. One of the sisters told me that the brother aged eighty-seven could in his last year "run a race with any of the boys." She said further: "His vitality was great and his mental vigor was remarkable to the last. His intellect was wonderful. He could hold his own in debate with any man I ever saw." Daniel Fraser is between eighty and ninety, and his intellectual powers seem entirely unimpaired, while his bodily powers are still good, though he does not

work so long and so steadily as the younger members. He showed me, however, with justifiable pride, a bed of onions which had been his special care. He had gone over the rows several times, so that his work was equivalent to hoeing one row three miles long once. Elder Frederick Evans is seventy-eight, but does not look old. Even animals seem to live long among them. When I went with Elder Frederick to gather apples, he asked me how old I took the black horse before the wagon to be. "Twelve," I replied. "He is thirty," said Elder Frederick; "but that is Shaker treatment, not the world's." Among the Economites one may see men and women of seventy and eighty who are still hale and hearty. This is notably the case with their leader, Jacob Henrici, who, I believe, is over eighty.

The moral is obvious. It teaches the importance of regular habits, simple, wholesome food, attention to ventilation and temperature in living rooms, and the benefits of continued labor.

The intelligence of the communists impressed me very favorably. I suppose they must be compared with people in the ordinary walks of life; for example, with the average farmer's family, and they shine by comparison. Among the Economites music is cultivated, and they all read more or less. There is also a largeness and breadth of view among them which is sometimes surprising. With one of the aged Shakers I discussed European and Oriental politics in a most interesting manner; indeed, I do not know that I ever listened to a more interesting conversationalist. The discussion embraced the Egyptian policy of England and a comparison of the moral altitudes of Gladstone, Parnell, and Joseph Chamberlain, — much to the favor of the latter, it may be added.

Reference was made to Robert Ingersoll, who, it seems

to me, was answered effectively. Rénan was quoted, and new thoughts were given me about personality in general, and the personality of God in particular. The conversation was full of quaint, curious, and indeed startling expressions. A locomotive was described as "materialized invisibility." In speaking of English politics, in which he took part in about 1830, he described the manner in which concessions were made to the people by politicians, who really cared nothing for them, in order to further party interests, and then added thoughtfully, "It is rather singular that the antagonisms of hell promote progress."

At another time, the conversation turned to the Internationalists, when he spoke about as follows: "The Internationalists and those who oppose them, and those who create the conditions which make them possible, — they are all of them in hell. Hell is harsh unreasonableness, sour unreasonableness. Reasonableness is justice — the recognition of the same right to life and its comforts in others which we have." In a letter since received, this good friend writes: "I worship God through the manifestations of intelligent beneficence and wise adaptations. Were all equally partakers, effusions of gratitude would arise of themselves. Friend Hughes[1] is right that the confusions of our time are due because society is at strife with the will of God and his Christ. To destroy Internationalism, first do justice to them; then add beneficence, and they will disappear like snow before a warm sunshine. In love . . ."

There is a lesson taught by these communists in regard to human nature, I think. Indolence gives them little trouble; among the Shakers, I have not heard that it has given any whatever. Alcander Longley, a member of various societies

[1] Reference is to Thomas Hughes, author of "Tom Brown at Rugby."

for the past forty years, says in his *Communist*,[1] under date of July 1, 1878: "The testimony of all communities is that the lazy are easily induced to work by a little friendly criticism and kind persuasion." It appears that at Oneida it was oftener necessary in mutual criticism to blame members for overwork than for indolence. In letters on the Shakers to the *New York Tribune*, Mr. E. V. Smalley said: "The lack of the stimulus of individual gain seems to be no drawback. In its place there is the public spirit of the community, which spurs up all laggards, and a strong religious conviction of duty that makes all the members work together harmoniously."

To one who knows this, the air of thrift and the scrupulous cleanliness which characterizes many communities cannot be a matter of surprise. Zoar is, however, said to be an exception. A friend writes that it presents an untidy appearance. I am unable to explain what is the cause of this difference.

Over many other interesting points it is necessary to pass with haste; for early American communism, after all, plays a subordinate part in the American labor movement.

The spiritualism of the Shakers, so well described by Howells in the "Undiscovered Country," will attract the careful student, as well as the fact that a strong religious element has been present in nearly all those communities which have succeeded. I believe this goes to show the necessity of an ethical tie to bind together not merely communistic communities but any social organization whatever. Without it I believe every society, republican or monarchical, must ultimately perish.

[1] Published in St. Louis. He has published it as he has had means for thirty years and more. Perhaps it is the only existing English organ of the older type of communism. It now bears the name *Altruist*.

Remarkable is the strength of character which community life has developed; also the force of joint enthusiasm is noteworthy. This has been observed frequently at Oneida. One winter all were ardently pursuing the study of Greek, and nearly all learned the language. Mrs. Noyes, then over sixty years of age, became so proficient that she and her husband afterwards were accustomed to read the Greek and not the English New Testament together. During another winter the study of mathematics absorbed the energies of all, young and old, men and women. It was decided on one occasion that the use of tobacco was inexpedient; whereupon all addicted to it at once abandoned the habit, and no one ever returned to it. At Economy the married resolved to lead a celibate life, and have ever since lived together as brothers and sisters. These instances perhaps show a power in concentrated public opinion which has never yet been fully utilized.

It is a matter of course that communists are temperate. They, like nearly all social reformers, place woman on an equal footing with man in every relation of life.

An exquisite consideration for others is often shown. At Mt. Lebanon I was taught how to shut a door so as not to give the slightest disturbance to any one. I was told that that was a lesson in Shakerism. "It is Shakerism," said Daniel Fraser, "reduced to the point of a pin."

The Shakers, it may here be added, expect a great future. They look forward to six cycles and believe that they have just emerged from the first.[1] One of them writes: "We have but begun a great work. It works against no reforms, but co-operates with and embraces them all."

[1] At any rate, this is the opinion one of them, Elder Frederick, expressed. I believe, however, that they allow great latitude of opinion on matters which they do not regard as essentials.

When my friend, Professor Knight, visited Zoar, he endeavored to get a brief resumé of the benefits of communism as they presented themselves to a communist, by asking one of the trustees to state the superiorities of their life over "the industrial and social system of the outside world," and he replied without hesitation about as follows: "We all live comfortably, we don't have to worry about money matters, we are all on an equality, and we are sure of being taken care of when we are too old to work. Can you say the same for everybody where you live?"[1]

Early American communism is not adapted to modern economic life, and as an attempt to establish a world system may be regarded as antiquated, though it may not be exact to say, as I once did, that "it exists only as a curious and interesting survival." I like to think that it has still a mission to perform, though not that which its early advocates hoped. In particular is it earnestly to be desired that such vast possessions as those of the Harmonists may be preserved for social experimentation in the future. If wisely conducted, their wealth would then forever be a blessing to mankind.

Early American communism has accomplished much good and little harm. Its leaders have been actuated by noble motives, have many times been men far above their fellows in moral stature, even in intellectual stature, and have desired only to benefit their kind. Its aim has been to elevate man, and its ways have been ways of peace.

[1] Quoted by kind permission from Professor Knight's manuscript on Zoar.

CHAPTER III.

THE GROWTH AND PRESENT CONDITION OF LABOR ORGANIZATIONS IN AMERICA.

I. First Period, 1800–1861.

ORGANIZED labor is labor in its normal condition. Unions of laborers may be traced back in European history for at least six hundred years; and it is probable that in whatever period and in whatever country we are able to find large masses of free laborers thrown together, careful research will reveal to us at least the germs of labor organizations. Association is so natural to man, and its benefits so great, that it is ever sought, and, indeed, more and more sought with the progress of civilization. Isolation is weakness, but union is strength.

Nevertheless, little or nothing was heard of labor organizations in America one hundred years ago, and even in Europe their older forms were passing away, and the more modern trades-unions had not been developed. It was a transition period between old and new institutions, and was a point of rest like that between the outgoing and the incoming tide. Doubtless Adam Smith described correctly the causes which then led to the appearances of labor in public discussion, when he said, "In the public deliberations, therefore, his (the laborer's) voice is little heard and less regarded, except upon some particular occasions, when his clamor is set on and supported by his employers, not for

his own, but their own particular purposes." In another place Adam Smith explains the appearance of the workmen before the public in the assertion that manufacturers "influence their workmen to attack with violence and outrage" those who propose the abolition of restrictions on the freedom of trade.

While it is evident that the times have changed radically since Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations" appeared in 1776, his explanation of the appearance of the working classes in public discussions and his view of the cause of violence on their part, still hold true with regard to a minority, though doubtless a very small minority, of the occasions when laborers figure in riots and in legislative deliberations. Thus in the history of the Camden and Amboy Transportation Company we read of a disturbance instigated by the officers of that company and directed against an obnoxious rival to ruin his business. A riot ensued, and one man was killed. Mr. Hudson, in his able work "The Railways and the Republic," tells us that workmen of the Standard Oil Company packed a public meeting in Pittsburgh and "howled down every speaker advocating commercial freedom in the oil trade." A suit is now pending against the Western Union Telegraph Company on account of violence perpetrated by its agents in cutting the wires of a rival line. Within a day's ride from the city in which I live, workingmen in a certain branch of industry are occasionally surprised to see in their morning's paper that they are on a strike, and to discover that one has been inaugurated by the manufacturers to convey the impression that their goods will be scarce, and thus work off a stock on hand.[1]

[1] For an example of a manufacturer's incitement to riot in ancient times, see Acts XIX, vv. 24–41

It is necessary to mention these cases to call attention to the fact that sometimes what appears to be a movement of labor is in reality a movement of capital, which, like labor, is at times unscrupulous. Instances of the kind described are undoubtedly far more numerous than is ordinarily supposed; still they are the exception. When we hear of the laborer in these days, it is as a rule — provided we except discussions on the tariff — because he himself has made some move which has called attention to him.

I find no traces of anything like a modern trades-union in the colonial period of American history, and it is evident on reflection that there was little need, if any, of organization on the part of labor at that time. Unions of workingmen always arise where there is a large and distinct laboring class gathered together in industrial centres; but then there was scarcely such a class, and there was then no great city in the country; for even in 1790, when the first census was taken, there was but one city in the United States with a population between forty thousand and seventy-five thousand inhabitants, and it was not until 1840 that we could claim a city of half a million souls. The population was chiefly agricultural, and the labor of the farm was for the most part performed by independent farmers who tilled their own soil. Doubtless the "hired man" could always be found in the North, but no thought of organization occurred to him, and if there had been any reason for organization, his isolation, and the unsteady character of his employment, would have rendered it well-nigh impossible. But as an individual he could treat with his individual employer, and abundance of unoccupied land furnished him a frequent escape from a subordinate position. There were comparatively few slaves in the North, and these were employed in households or in separate occupations, and did

not affect greatly the general condition of labor. The labor of the South, on the other hand, was performed chiefly by slaves until our late Civil War, and this fact rendered organization impossible in that section.

Such manufacturing, as was found, consisted largely in the production of values-in-use. Clothing, for example, was spun and woven, and then converted into garments in the household for its various members. The artisans comprised chiefly the carpenter, the blacksmith, and the shoemaker; many of whom worked in their own little shops with no employees, while the number of subordinates in any one shop was almost invariably small, and it would probably have been difficult to find a journeyman who did not expect, in a few years, to become an independent producer.

What might be expected actually happened. Artisans and mechanics were a bold and spirited body of men who exerted an influence in affairs, though they do not appear in history as organizations pitted against their employers. "Below the merchants," says Professor Hosmer in his description of the people of Boston,[1] "the class of workmen formed a body most energetic. . . . The caulkers were bold politicians. The rope-walk hands were energetic to turbulence, courting the brawls with the soldiers which led to the 'Boston Massacre.'" The "Caulkers' Club" was a body formed for political purposes, designed, in fact, "to lay plans for introducing certain persons into places of trust and power."[2] The father of Samuel Adams was prominent in it in 1724, and it is not improbable that the term caucus was derived from these workmen.

The first years of the nineteenth century, however, witness the beginning of a change, although the urban popula-

[1] See his "Samuel Adams" in the American Statesmen series.

[2] See "Samuel Adams," p. 15.

tion of the country scarcely exceeded four per cent of the entire population. Something very like a modern strike occurred in the year 1802. The sailors in New York received ten dollars a month, but wished an increase of four dollars a month, and endeavored to enforce their demands by quitting work. It is said that they marched about the city, accompanied by a band, and compelled seamen, employed at the old wages, to leave their ships and join them. But the iniquitous combination and conspiracy laws, which viewed concerted action of laborers as a crime, were then in force in all modern lands, and "the constables were soon in pursuit, arrested the leader, lodged him in jail, and so ended the earliest of labor strikes."[1]

The most primitive form of labor organizations is the union of one class of employees in a single place with no connection with laborers working in other localities or at other callings. Such unions are found here and there in the United States from 1800 to 1825, though they do not appear to have gained any considerable influence before the latter year. The "New York Society of Journeymen Shipwrights" was incorporated April 3, 1803, and a union of the "House Carpenters of the City of New York" was incorporated in 1806.

The compositors of New York must have been organized early in the century, for they seem to have had a strong society in 1817, when Thurlow Weed was elected a member. It was called the "New York Typographical Society," and Peter Force was its President. In the following year the

[1] See McMaster's "History of the People of the United States, Vol. II., p. 618.

Police interference is still everywhere lawful and, of course, proper, in case of recourse to violence, but then the combination of laborers in itself was generally regarded as illegal.

society took advantage of Mr. Weed's residence in Albany to secure its incorporation. "I remember," writes Mr. Weed, in his Autobiography,[1] "with what deference I then ventured into the presence of distinguished members of the legislature, and how sharply I was rebuked by two gentlemen who were quite shocked at the idea of incorporating journeymen mechanics. The application, however, was successful." There was also a typographical society in Albany in 1821; for in that year a strike was ordered in the office in which Mr. Weed was employed, because one of the compositors was a "rat," as those printers are called who do not belong to a union. This shows the growth of a strong union feeling, and may be taken as evidence of some age on the part of the "Typographical Society" in that city.

All these unions, it will be noticed, were located in New York State, and I find no record of a trades-union elsewhere until the "Columbian Charitable Society of Shipwrights and Caulkers of Boston and Charlestown" was formed in 1822. The following year they were granted a charter by the legislature of Massachusetts. Their charter empowered them "to have and use a common seal, and to make by-laws for the governing of the affairs of said association, and the management and application of its funds; and also for promoting inventions and improvements in their art, by granting premiums, to assist mechanics with loans of money, and to relieve the distresses of unfortunate mechanics and their families."

Though the first quarter of this century may perhaps be considered as a germinal period, preceding the modern labor movement, and preparing the way for it, that movement itself, so far as it is represented by organizations of laborers designed to improve their condition as laborers,

[1] Page 69.

may be regarded as beginning with the year 1825; not that any important event divided the history of labor before that period from its subsequent history, but that, roughly speaking, at about that time, a new spirit and a new purpose began to animate the laboring classes. They became more conscious of their existence as a distinct part of the community, and with interests to a certain extent not identical with those of other social classes, and very naturally the idea of class action on a larger scale than hitherto became more familiar to workmen; and from that time forward this idea has been cherished among them. It is easy then to characterize the movement of labor organizations during the first period of their history, in the United States, which may be said to terminate with the beginning of the Civil War between North and South.

An increasing number of local unions is formed; at times unions of artisans of various trades in a certain section join hands for common action; gradually the skilled laborers, pursuing the same trade, form the idea of national unions, urged on doubtless by the increased facilities of transportation and communication which rendered national trade societies at once possible and desirable, since the competition of artisans and mechanics with one another ceased to be local, and transcended the boundaries of several states. Early in our history, when travel was difficult and the post-office still in a primitive condition, it would have been well-nigh impossible to form any national union of laborers; and the advantages of such association would have been less obvious at a time when each region of country was for most purposes a little world in itself. During this first period political action as an instrument of social amelioration is frequently urged, and we begin to hear of workingmen's parties.

The two cities most prominent in the struggles of organized labor from 1825 to 1861 are Boston and New York, as they were the chief cities to attract our attention in the earlier history of labor just considered. In the year 1820 two Englishmen, George Henry Evans and Frederick W. Evans, landed in New York, and very soon began to exercise a perceptible influence upon American thought, an influence which the careful student of our history may still discover working among us. George Henry, the elder, was a land-reformer, much in the line of Henry George's theory, holding that man had a right to the usufruct of land only; and the present agitators for the abolition of rent may owe perhaps more than they suppose to their predecessors, who appeared in the field fifty years and more ago.[1] The two brothers published the "Workingman's Advocate" during a part of the five years between 1825 and 1830 in New York City, and it is possible that this was the first appearance of a representative of the labor press in the United States. The "Workingman's Advocate" was succeeded by the "Daily Sentinel," and finally by "Young America." Their demands, printed at the head of "Young America," although then radical in the extreme, were endorsed by six hundred papers, and have in some instances been granted. An enumeration of them will show, on the one hand, how advanced was the economic thought of the laborers at that time; on the other, how great an influence these brothers, and the small band of workers gathered about them, have exerted upon our national life. The twelve demands were as follows: —

"First. The right of man to the soil, 'Vote yourself a farm.'

[1] Authority is the "Autobiography of a Shaker," by Elder Frederick W. Evans. It is now published in book form, but it appeared first in the "Atlantic Monthly."

"Second. Down with monopolies, especially the United States Bank.

"Third. Freedom of public lands.

"Fourth. Homesteads made inalienable.

"Fifth. Abolition of all laws for the collection of debts

"Sixth. A general bankrupt law.

"Seventh. A lien of the laborer upon his own work for his wages.

"Eighth. Abolition of imprisonment for debt.

"Ninth. Equal rights for women with men in all respects.

"Tenth. Abolition of chattel slavery, and of wages slavery.

"Eleventh. Land limitation to one hundred and sixty acres; no person after the passage of this law to become possessed of more than that amount of land. But when a land monopolist died, his heirs were to take each his legal number of acres, and be compelled to sell the overplus, using the proceeds as they pleased.

"Twelfth. Mails in the United States to run on the Sabbath."

A "Workingman's Convention" met at Syracuse, New York, in 1830, and nominated Ezekiel Williams for governor, who received, however, less than three thousand votes. Greater success attended their efforts in New York City in the same year, for the "Workingmen's party" joined forces with the Whigs and elected three or four members of the legislature.[1]

These men finally formed what became known in our history as the Loco-Foco party, and cast their influence on the side of the Democratic party, as that promised a larger number of concessions to them. They believed that it was their influence which made the election of Andrew Jackson a possibility; and there can scarcely be a doubt that the

[1] See Thurlow Weed's Autobiography, pp. 367 and 404.

Democratic party from 1829 to 1841 was more truly a workingman's party than has been the case with any other great political party in our country, or with that party either before or since.

George Henry Evans became a friend of Horace Greeley, and followed with active interest the political movements of the country up to the time of his decease, which occurred about 1870. The younger brother, Frederick W. Evans, joined the Shakers at Mount Lebanon in 1831, and now one of their leading men is familiarly known among them as Elder Frederick. He still maintains his radical social views, and they form part of his religion. One of the three days I passed with the Shakers at Mount Lebanon, in the summer of 1885, was fortunately a Sunday, and I had the pleasure of listening to an address from Elder Frederick. I must confess that it sounded strange to me to hear the views I had associated with Henry George preached as part of a religious system; and it was a surprise to me to learn that the Elder had been preaching them for fifty years and more.

The next event to attract our attention in New York is an address delivered before "The General Trades-Unions of the City of New York," at Chatham Street Chapel, on Dec. 2, 1833, by Ely Moore, President of the Union. This General Trades-Union, as its name indicates, was a combination of subordinate unions "of the various trades and arts" in New York City and its vicinity, and is the earliest example in the United States, so far as I know, of those Central Labor Unions which attempt to unite all the workingmen in one locality in one body, and which have now become so common among us.[1] The address of Mr. Moore is characterized by a more modern tone than is

[1] They are also called Trades and Labor Assemblies, Trades and Labor Councils, and Federations of Labor in various places.

found in most productions of the labor leaders of that period. The object of these unions is stated to be "to guard against the encroachments of aristocracy, to preserve our natural and political rights, to elevate our moral and intellectual condition, to promote our pecuniary interests, to narrow the line of distinction between the journeyman and employer, to establish the honor and safety of our respective vocations upon a more secure and permanent basis, and to alleviate the distresses of those suffering from want of employment."

The right of laborers to combine for the protection of their interests is vigorously maintained, and the position is taken that their General Trades-Union will diminish the number of strikes and lock-outs, and not increase them, as their opponents had claimed. Two extracts, quoted from their Constitution to show this, are as follows: "Each trade or art may represent to the Convention, through their delegate, their grievances, who shall take cognizance thereof, and decide upon the same."

"No trade or art shall strike for higher wages than they at present receive without the sanction of the Convention."

Two or three years later there was sufficient class feeling in New York to enable Mr. Moore to secure an election to Congress as a representative of the workingmen.

"The Workingman's Manual: a New Theory of Political Economy, on the Principle of Production the Source of Wealth, including an Enquiry into the Principles of Public Currency, the Wages of Labor, the Production of Wealth, the Distribution of Wealth, Consumption of Wealth, Popular Education, and the Elements of Social Government in General, as they appear open to the Scrutiny of Common Sense and Philosophy of the Age;" — all this is the long and ambitious title of a noteworthy book written by Stephen Simp-

son, of Philadelphia, and published in that city in the year 1831. It bears the motto "Governments were instituted for the happiness of the many, not the benefit of the few," and is dedicated "to the shade of Jefferson."

Like the address of Ely Moore in New York, this work gives evidence of a good deal of previous agitation of the labor problem. The working classes are told that the old political parties offer them no hope of satisfactory reforms, and they are urged to support the "Party of the Workingmen," which, "resisting the seductions of fanatics on the one hand and demagogues on the other," presses forward in "the path of science and justice, under the banner of *labor the source of wealth, and industry the arbiter of its distribution.*"

The economic evils of the country are explained, and remedies for them are pointed out.

Jefferson is lauded by Simpson for "the Declaration of our Independence; for the abolishment of the laws of entail and primogeniture, and other sanative and benevolent schemes, having for their object, the equalization of fortunes, the just distribution of property, and the diffusive happiness of the whole people." But objection is raised to the alleged fact that the "Declaration of Independence" is still only a body of theoretical principles, because feudal laws and customs, as well as European fashions, sentiments, and literature, have maintained old-world abuses among us; nevertheless, forcible equalization of fortunes is repudiated as a worse injustice, if possible, than the present system. Measures are urged, designed to prevent monopoly, and to apportion the product of industry among the members of the community, more nearly in proportion to services rendered to society. It is urged, that although labor is the source of wealth, — since "natural agents are but the basis of human industry," —

those who toil not live in luxury, while the honest laborer suffers the pangs of hunger. Nature has furnished sufficient means for the comfort of all, but unjust arrangements have brought such a state of things to pass, that the lord of ten thousand acres is "tortured on his sick couch by the agonies of repletion, whilst the laborer famishes at his gate."

The chief sources of unjust inequality in the distribution of wealth are found in the "funding system," which led to the monopoly of stock, and those royal grants which led to the monopoly of land, and regret is expressed that royal titles to land were not forever abolished when the Federal Constitution was adopted.

A third source of injustice is found in the Common Law of England, which grew up in an aristocratical and monarchical country, and as not suitable for a republic, ought not to have been adopted in this country.

The remedies proposed are simple. Violence and bloodshed are condemned, and the intelligent use of the ballot is commended. Public opinion ought to be educated so that labor may become respectable; for now, the writer complains, "the children of toil are as much shunned in society as if they were leprous convicts just emerged from loathsome cells."

Corporations and monopolies, continues our author, ought to be discouraged, for "capital, banks, and monopolies," as oppressors of the people, have taken the place of the barons, lords, and bishops of Old England. The condemnation of the old combination laws is rather bitter, though certainly just. "If mechanics combine to raise their wages," says Simpson, "the laws punish them as conspirators against the good of society, and the dungeon awaits them as it does the robber. But the laws have made it a just and meritorious act that capitalists shall combine to strip the man of labor

of his earnings, and reduce him to a dry crust and a gourd of water."

Imprisonment for debt is condemned as another grave abuse, and its abolition is urged on economic as well as on humanitarian grounds, since the removal of power to imprison the debtor would lead to the curtailment of disastrous grants of credit. Remarks on paper money and inflation, as evils which have brought severe suffering to the working classes, deserve the attention of our "Greenbackers" at the present time.

The chief remedy, however, is that which we find recommended by all agitators in the early days of the labor movement; namely, universal education. Public instruction was claimed by the party of the workingmen, but their demand was met "by the sneer of derision on the one hand, and the cry of revolution on the other."

There are abundant evidences of widespread discussion of labor-problems in New England, and particularly in Massachusetts, at this time. One of these is a pamphlet which lies before me, entitled "An Address before the Workingmen's Society," of Dedham (Mass.), delivered on the evening of Sept. 7, 1831, by Samuel Whitcomb, Jr. Whitcomb takes the same view of the injustice of the present distribution of the product of industry, which we have found presented in Simpson's Manual, and he rejoices in the organization of workingmen's associations, as institutions designed to correct abuses, and resist the "encroachment of foreign influence and evil example on our moral and political welfare." Chiefly noteworthy is the allusion to workingmen's associations as something comparatively new, yet becoming common.

More remarkable is "an Address to the Workingmen of New England, on the State of Education, and on the Con-

dition of the Producing Classes in Europe and America," which was delivered by Seth Luther in Boston, Charlestown, Cambridgeport, Waltham, Dorchester, Mass.; Portland, Saco, Me.; and Dover, N.H. The copyright is dated 1832, and the third edition was printed in Philadelphia in 1836.

The protectionists were then lauding the "splendid example" of England, and endeavoring to persuade the American people that manufactures ought to be developed even at the expense of public aid. An assemblage of manufacturers at Concord, Mass., had gone still further, and adopted a resolution "that they had rather have this union dissolved than to have the protecting policy given up," and John Quincy Adams had declared in a report on manufactures, that the cotton-mills were "the principalities of the destitute, the palaces of the poor." This naturally led Mr. Luther, a mechanic, to investigate the condition of the manufacturing population of England and the United States, in order to determine whether manufactures were after all so desirable when viewed from the standpoint of the laboring classes.

His pamphlet is valuable for the light it throws on the hours of labor, the wages of employees in manufactories, and the abuses of power on the part of some unscrupulous manufacturers. I know of no stronger proof of an improvement in the condition of the manufacturing population of New England than that which is found in Seth Luther's address and in the "appendix," which is possibly still more important on account of the reprint it contains of original documents, like the "General Rules of the Lowell Manufacturing Company" and "The Conditions on which Help is hired by the Cocheo Manufacturing Company, Dover, N.H."

Distressing cases of cruelty to children are described in detail by Seth Luther, and the amount of child labor in certain districts must have been relatively almost as great as at

present, though it does not seem to have prevailed so generally throughout the country.

The length of a day's labor varied from twelve to fifteen hours. The New England Mills generally ran thirteen hours a day the year round, but one mill in Connecticut ran fourteen hours, while the length of actual labor in another mill in the same State, the Eagle Mill at Griswold, was fifteen hours and ten minutes. The regulations at Paterson, New Jersey, required women and children to be at work at half-past four in the morning.

The regulations of the factory were cruel and oppressive to a degree, I think, scarcely known among us at present. Operatives were taxed by the companies for the support of religion; habitual absence from church was punished by the Lowell Manufacturing Company with dismissal from employment, and in other respects the life of the employees outside of the factories was regulated as well as their life within them. Windows were nailed down and the operatives deprived of fresh air, and a case of rebellion on the part of one thousand females on account of tyrannical and oppressive treatment is mentioned. Women and children were urged on by the use of a cowhide, and an instance is given of a little girl, eleven years of age, whose leg was broken with a "billet of wood." Still more harrowing is the description of the merciless whipping of a deaf-and-dumb boy by an overseer named Bryant. An "eye-witness" said "when he came in (at home), he lay down on the bed like one without life. . . . He was mangled in a shocking manner, from his neck to his feet. He received, I should think, one hundred blows." At Mendon, Mass., a boy of twelve drowned himself in a pond to escape factory labor.

The wages were small. The "United Hand-Loom Weavers' Trade Association of Baltimore," reported in 1835, that

they could earn in twelve hours from sixty-five cents to seventy-one cents a day, which, they said, did not enable them to defray the expenses "of the schooling" of their children.

Mr. Luther enlarges on the evils of the manufacturing population, but says little about remedies. He recommends, however, general education and the abolition of the oppressive combination laws, so that laborers might unite their forces like their employers. The hostile attitude of the press is classed as one of their difficulties, but it is stated that a remedy will be found in workingmen's papers, which "are multiplying." Finally, the bitter denunciation which trades-unions and combinations of laborers received at this time from the employing class is worthy of attention. A combination of merchants in Boston pledged themselves to drive the shipwrights, caulkers, and gravers of that city to submission or starvation, and subscribed $20,000 for that purpose.

An important meeting of the laboring classes was held in Boston in February, 1831. Of this no record appears to have been preserved, but the first report of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor, issued in 1870, contains an account of the second meeting of the same body, held in Boston, Sept. 6, 1832. The organization was known as the "New England Association of Farmers, Mechanics, and other Workingmen." Boston was represented by thirty delegates, and among them were men who afterward achieved at least a local celebrity. Ten points for consideration were reported, among which were these: the ten-hour working day; the effect of banking institutions and other monopolies on the condition of the laboring classes; the improvement of the educational system; imprisonment for debt; a national bankrupt law; the extension of the right of suffrage in States where it

was restricted; a lien law in favor of journeyman mechanics. Resolutions were adopted in favor of annual meetings, in favor of a lien law, against imprisonment for debt, and against the militia system. A journal called the "New England Artisan" was recognized as the official organ of the association. From the report of the committee on an address to the workingmen, the following statement of grievances and remedies is taken: "These evils . . . arise from the moral obliquity of the fastidious and the cupidity of the avaricious. They consist in an illiberal opinion of the worth and rights of the laboring classes; an unjust estimation of their moral, intellectual, and physical powers; an unwise misapprehension of the effects which would result from the cultivation of their minds and the improvement of their condition; and an avaricious propensity to avail of their laborious services at the lowest possible rate of wages for which they can be induced to work. The remedies which are relied on to correct these misapprehensions and reform these abuses are the organization of the whole laboring population of this United Republic into an association for this purpose; the separation of questions of political morality and economy from the mere personal and party contests of the day; a general diffusion of light by the presentation of facts to the consideration of all good men and faithful citizens; the selection from among the politicians of the respective parties to which workingmen may happen to belong, of those as the objects of our preference whose moral character, personal habits, relations, and employments, as well as professions, afford us the best guarantee of their disposition to revise our social and political system, and to introduce those improvements called for by us and demanded by the spirit of the age.

"To this we shall add our fixed determination to persevere

till our wrongs are redressed, and to imbue the minds of our offspring with a spirit of abhorrence for the usurpations of aristocracy, and of resistance to their oppressions, so invincible, that they shall dedicate their lives to a completion of the work which their ancestors commenced in their struggle for national, and their sires have continued in their contest for personal independence." During this meeting — held, as has been stated, in 1832 — a letter was received from the workingmen of New York City, addressed to the workingmen of the United States, which, like much that has been already said, shows general agitation and a certain concert of action in what are now called labor circles.

This earlier stage of the labor movement has been described with so much fulness because it is peculiarly instructive on several accounts. It shows, first, that grievances of the laboring classes in the United States are no new thing; second, that the pretensions of the wealthy irritated the masses in America fifty years ago; third, that progress has been made, many of the demands of the laboring classes at that time having been already granted; fourth, that what one generation considered dangerous and possibly even revolutionary claims, a later has learned to look upon as just and natural. As has often happened, concessions on the part of those in whose hands the powers of government and society reside, have resulted in benefit to all classes. Perhaps one may be tempted to conclude that the social salvation of society, like the religious salvation of the world, comes from below. The masses move forward; their onward motion is resisted by the so-called better classes — and it is possible one ought to say, rightly called better classes; but the advance-march continues, and what was thought an ominous signal of danger proves to be but an olive-branch of peace. The truths of economic and social science have frequently been among

those things which are hid from the wise and prudent and revealed unto babes.

It is, however, more correct to compare the legitimate functions of the upper classes of society to those of an upper house of a legislature. It is, indeed, very necessary that measures initiated by the masses should be examined and discussed by the more learned, prudent, and cautious among the upper ten thousand, who should at times exercise a controlling and restraining power over popular movements in the interest of society as a whole. It is further desirable that representatives of wealth and culture should always be found in the lower house; in other words, thoroughly identified with the masses, yet bringing into their movements an elevated and refined tone. The misfortune is that those who ought to play the part of prudent advisers are too often inclined to stop the march of progress altogether. The conservative becomes an obstructionist, and arouses an angry cry for the abolition of every influence which tends to retard a too rapid social reconstruction. Thus do revolutions come!

The laboring classes were not without powerful friends in those early days, for among those whose hearts were with the masses are found the names of William Ellery Channing, James G. Carter, Robert Rantoul, and Horace Mann. Greatest stress was at this time laid upon the diffusion of education and the improvement of educational methods and systems. That is the burden of Channing's message to the workingmen in his celebrated lectures on "Self-Culture" and on the "Laboring Classes." Channing was not merely full of sympathy with the masses who bear the burden and heat of the day; what is still more, he had faith in their integrity, in their wisdom, and in their capabilities for improvement. To those who saw danger in the

extension of power and freedom to the laboring classes, and feared a conspiracy of the needy against the rich, he uttered these vigorous words of remonstrance: "It ought to be understood that the great enemies to society are not found in its poorer ranks. The mass may indeed be used as tools; but the stirring and guiding powers of insurrection are found above. Communities fall by the vices of the prosperous ranks. . . . The French Revolution is perpetually sounded in our ears as a warning. . . . But whence came this revolution? Who were the regicides? . . . They were Louis the Fourteenth and the Regent who followed him, and Louis the Fifteenth. These brought their descendants to the guillotine. The priesthood who revoked the Edict of Nantes, and drove from France the skill and industry and virtue and piety which were the sinews of her strength; the statesmen who intoxicated Louis the Fourteenth with the scheme of universal empire; the profligate, prodigal, shameless Orleans; and the still more brutalized Louis the Fifteenth, with his court of panders and prostitutes, — they made the nation bankrupt, broke asunder the bond of loyalty, and overwhelmed the throne and altars in ruins."

Horace Mann, while laying the foundations of the best educational system in the United States, attempted at the same time to secure its advantages for the humblest members of the community, and with this in view he strove to introduce measures which would effectually protect children when their right to an opportunity to acquire at least the elements of learning should be attacked either by cruel master or heartless parent. Carter and Rantoul were active in the same field, while the latter vindicated the right of laborers to combine, in the well-known "Journeyman Bootmakers' Case." Their combination had been attacked under the old conspiracy laws of odious memory, which the

Common Law had brought to America; but the case was decided for the journeymen in 1842, and this decision was final, as the legality of labor organizations has since then not been contested in Massachusetts.

The topic of liveliest interest among the working classes in the United States from the earliest time up to the present day has been what is called the normal working day; that is, the number of hours which should constitute the regular day's labor. When our ancestors came to this country, their poverty and the abundant opportunity for the acquisition of wealth spurred them to over-exertion, often short-sighted; for while it brought the eagerly coveted riches, it ruined health, dwarfed the mind, and stunted the development of all higher faculties. When the means of enjoyment were acquired, all power of enjoyment was gone. In gaining life, they had lost those things which made life worth living; or, as the Bible has it, they had lost their own souls, their true selves. This is familiar, but the fact has not received equal attention that they were likewise hard task-masters. Not content with overworking themselves, they drove wife, children, and employees from sunrise to sunset, for the "sun to sun" system prevailed generally in our early history. This involved at times a normal working day of sixteen hours. The laborers early protested against this, and the agitation for ten hours is as old as the labor movement in this country, and it is still continued in some parts of the United States, though in most places it ceased long ago, because it had accomplished its purpose. Just at the right time, when the conflict of the laborers for shorter hours had already made considerable headway, one whom the workingmen considered a friend, Martin Van Buren, the President, threw the weight of government into the trembling balance and decided the issue. On the 10th of April, 1840, Mr.

Van Buren signed a general order introducing the ten-hour system thereafter into the navy-yard at Washington, D.C., and in "all public establishments." This example was followed in private ship-yards, and very soon became general, though by no means universal. At the time Gen. Oliver made his first report, to which I have already referred, and to which I am indebted for many data concerning the early labor movement, the time of labor in factories where women and children were employed in New England was sixty-six to seventy-two hours a week. Within this year seventeen and eighteen hours have been a common length of a day's labor on the street railways of the United States; and though the laborers have been able to shorten it by organizations and strikes in many cities, it doubtless still continues in places. Employees of steam railways are often worked as long, and even longer, to the danger of the life and limb of the general public as well as their own. But the most overworked men in the country in recent times have been the bakers. Once a week in Baltimore they have worked steadily for twenty-five hours, and in New York for twenty-six — a normal working day considerably longer it is seen than the solar day!

The ten-hour day was established in Baltimore a few years before President Van Buren's general order. The laborers of that city stopped work and paraded the streets with drum and fife, proclaiming to the world that ten hours should constitute a day's labor thereafter. The conflict was decided in a week in favor of the workingmen, and for fifty years men have as a rule worked but ten hours a day in Baltimore.

The first widespread labor agitation in the United States seems to have reached a climax about 1835, in which year I see mention made of a National Trades-Union, although I

have been able to find nothing further about it than that Seth Luther was one of its delegates.[1]

Organized movement of the masses continued, but in a rather feeble way, until towards the close of the late war. In 1845 an agitation for the reduction of the hours of labor in the factories of Massachusetts was begun, and was carried on with some vigor until 1852, when the employers effected a compromise by a reduction of two hours a week; namely, from sixty-eight to sixty-six hours, which then became the rule.[2] Among those who broke a lance for the laborers at this time was William Claflin, later governor of the State, who came out openly in favor of the ten-hour day.

The decade preceding the Civil War is remarkable in the American labor movement, for the number of trades-unions which were then organized on a national basis. First among these to attract our attention is the International Typographical Union, which may be traced back to 1850, when a "National Convention of Journeymen Printers" met in New York. The year following, a meeting was held in Baltimore; but the formal permanent organization was not effected until 1852, when the printers met in Cincinnati. The name then adopted was National Typographical Union, which was changed to International Typographical Union

[1] In 1835 several members of the New York City delegation to the State Legislature were elected on the "Workingmen's Ticket." Among these were Thomas Hertell and Job Haskell, a carman. See Thurlow Weed's Autobiography, p. 406.

[2] Petitions were sent to the Massachusetts Legislature in favor of the ten-hour day, and a special legislative committee made a report on this subject in 1845. One of the petitioners, John Quincy Adams Thayer, published a pamphlet on the subject, entitled "Review of the Report of the Special Committee of the Legislature," etc., in which he controverted the objection that "ten hours a day would be impracticable."

at the annual meeting in Albany, N.Y., in 1869, so as to include printers working in Canada. And it may be said in this connection that this is the usual meaning of international as a part of the title of American trades-unions. International unions include Americans outside of the United States, chiefly Canadians, and very few of them include Europeans. The International Typographical Union is the oldest existing American trades-union; and this is an interesting fact, since the American labor movement in this respect resembles the labor movement elsewhere. Very generally we find the printers among the pioneers in the organization of labor, for which, I suppose, no other reason can be given than their superior intelligence. In Italy, France, and Germany we find the printers' unions among the oldest and strongest of existing labor organizations.

The beginnings of the International Typographical Union were humble, and, when compared with its present position, insignificant. New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Kentucky were the only States represented at the convention in 1850.[1] Now, nearly, if not quite, every State in the Union, and several of the Territories, are represented at the annual sessions. When the Typographical Union assumed the prefix "International," the total membership was 7,563; at the close of the year 1884–85 it was 18,000, and is said to have increased 10,000 since the Report of July, 1885. At one time the hostility of employers against the union was very general; now it is recognized, with few exceptions, in all great printing-offices of the country, and many employers support and assist it as a beneficial organization. This is notably the case with Mr. Childs, of the "Public Ledger," who ranks among the great employers of

[1] The oldest local union represented was the Baltimore Typographical Society, established in November, 1831.

labor in the country. In addition to previous gifts, Mr. Childs, with Mr. Drexel, a banker, sent the union a check for $10,000, at their meeting in 1886, — an example well worthy of imitation on the part of other employers. The printers have a creditable organ in the *Craftsman*, a weekly newspaper published in Washington, D.C.

The hatters followed the printers in this country in 1854, and again the resemblance to the labor movement elsewhere is maintained; and this not merely with respect to date of organization, but with respect to general characteristics. Probably no unions preserve so many of the characteristics of the associations of journeymen in the old guilds. This similarity is doubtless partly cause, partly effect, of the active correspondence and general connection maintained by the unions in Europe and America, although they are not organized on an international basis.

The National Trade Association of Hat Finishers of the United States of America was organized in 1854, but in 1868 was divided into two organizations; the one keeping the old name, and the other changing it by the insertion of "Silk and Fur," and becoming the Silk and Fur Hat Finishers' Trade Association of the United States of America. The general purpose is the protection of mutual interests of journeymen; but special attention is given to the subject of apprenticeship, in order that the supply of journeymen may not become excessive. The number of members of the National Trade Association of Hat Finishers reported in 1885 was 3,015 journeymen and 377 apprentices — a total of 3,392. This shows growth, for the census report has only 2,077 in 1879, and 2,361 in 1880.

The Silk and Fur Hat Finishers are a smaller body, numbering at the close of the year 1883, 584 journeymen and 59 apprentices — a total of 643.

The union called the "Sons of Vulcan," one of three unions which, consolidated, became the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers, in 1876, was established on April 17, 1858. More will be said about the Amalgamated Association presently.

A more remarkable trades-union, the "Iron Moulders' Union of North America" was founded on July 5, 1859, by William H. Sylvis, a labor leader who has left a deep impress on the labor movement in the United States. The story of his life, interesting and instructive, and withal not devoid of a certain pathos, is told in the "Life, Speeches, Labors, and Essays of William H. Sylvis," by his brother James G. Sylvis, and is well worthy perusal;[1] for it shows in the concrete the struggles, the aspirations, the mode of life, and manner of thought of one who attained an elevated position as a workingman among workingmen.

A once strong union, the Machinists' and Blacksmiths' Union of North America was founded in 1859, and was incorporated by Congress in 1859; the only union which, so far as I know, ever received a charter from the United States Government. This body was composed of smiths and machine-makers at first, but afterwards, boiler-makers and pattern-makers were added, and in 1877 it took the name of Mechanical Engineers of the United States of America. Its membership amounted to 18,000 in 1872, but had fallen to 5,000 in 1878;[2] and if it still exists, it must lead a very quiet life.

It is stated that twenty-six trades had national organizations in 1860.

[1] Published in Philadelphia in 1872, by Claxton, Remsen, & Haffelfinger.

[2] See Farnam's brochure, "Die Amerikanischen Gewerkvereine." Leipzig, 1879, Seite 18.

SECOND PERIOD. 1861–1886.

THE era of the Civil War brought men together, opened new avenues of communication between various parts of the country, stirred the minds of men mightily, setting them to think deeply on social and economic topics, and finally brought into prominence a vast number of labor problems, due to fluctuations of the currency, to rapid changes from prosperity to adversity, and also to the sudden and marvellous accumulation of wealth in hands of successful business men and lucky adventurers. Never before were there such sharp contrasts in the country between riches and poverty. If this was a misfortune in itself, a still greater evil was found in the fact that no inconsiderable part of this wealth was acquired by devices which could not be made to square with the morality of the decalogue, to say nothing about the higher ethical code which Christianity has brought us. Another cause of the growth of trades-unions was the abolition of slavery, which had operated in two different ways favorably to the progress of the labor movement. The discussion concerning slave labor naturally led to reflection on the condition of free laborers and their rights, and some of those who had taken an active part in abolitionism passed over into the ranks of those who were endeavoring to elevate the laboring classes. Again the universal freedom of the laboring classes from the yoke of slavery could not fail to have an elevating influence on those engaged in manual toil. Yet more important in its ultimate effect was the fact that this vast country now opened an unobstructed field for the labor movement. Two other especially weighty circumstances must not fail to be mentioned. First, the concentration of the laboring classes in large establishments in great industrial centres had continued without interruption; second, during

the war native labor had in many quarters been replaced by foreign labor, and race antagonism added intensity to the natural struggle between employer and employed. It is not then surprising that during the closing years of the war, and during the five succeeding years, a vast number of labor organizations were founded. Before enumerating some of the more important of them, it is well to call attention to the enlarged horizon of labor leaders during this period of the movement now under consideration. New unions were called International; old unions took that name, and under an impulse received from the International Working People's Association, founded by Carl Marx, there began to be a reaching out on the part of the laboring classes for closer old-world connections. As improvements in the means of communication and transportation had aided the transformation of local unions into national unions; so still further improvements in this direction promoted the growth of Internationalism. These facilities of communication and transportation were in each case both cause and effect.

One of the most successful labor organizations is the first one of the great trades-unions, founded during the war period, and is composed of locomotive engineers, or engine-drivers, as our English cousins would say. It was instituted at Detroit, Aug. 17, 1863, and was then called the "Brotherhood of the Foot-board." It was reorganized at Indianapolis, Aug. 17, 1864, under the name and title of the Grand International Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers.

The year 1864 witnessed the birth of a powerful body in the Cigar Makers' National Union, which in 1867 was extended to Canada, and became international in name as well as in fact. There had been a previous attempt to form an organization, and the cigar-makers of New York called a

convention in 1856, in which employers took part. The aim was to equalize prices for labor throughout the State. The first local union of cigar-makers appears to have been formed in Baltimore, in 1851.

The Bricklayers' and Masons' International Union of America was formed on the 17th of October, 1865, and it may be well to interrupt this enumeration by the quotation of the "Preamble" found in the printed copy of the constitution. It may be regarded as typical, though many of the "preambles" to the constitutions of labor organizations breathe a more conservative tone, while few are more radical. Others will be found reprinted in the Appendix.

The Preamble reads as follows: "At no period of the world's history has the necessity of combination on the part of labor become so apparent to any thinking mind as at the present time; and perhaps in no country have the working classes been so forgetful of their own interests as in this great republic.

"All other questions seem to attract the attention of the workingman more than that which is most vital to his existence.

"Whereas, Capital has assumed to itself the right to own and control labor for the accomplishment of its own greedy and selfish ends, regardless of the laws of Nature and Nature's God; and whereas, experience has demonstrated the utility of concentrated efforts in arriving at specific ends, and it is an evident fact that if the dignity of labor is to be preserved, it must be done by our united action; and whereas, Believing the truth of the following maxims, that they who would be free themselves must strike the blow, that in union there is strength, and self preservation is the first law of nature, we hold the justice and truth of the principle that merit makes the man; and we firmly believe that

industry, sobriety, and a proper regard for the welfare of our fellow-men form the basis upon which the principle rests; we therefore recognize no rule of action or principle that would elevate wealth above industry, or the professional man above the workingman. We recognize no distinction in society except those based upon worth, usefulness, and good order; and no superiority except that granted by the Great Architect of our existence; and calling upon God to witness the rectitude of our intentions, we, the delegates, here assembled, ordain and establish the following Constitution."

The Conductors' Brotherhood was organized in 1868, at Mendota, Ill.; but it changed its name at its eleventh annual meeting, and has since been known as the Order of Railway Conductors.

The United States Wool Hat Finishers' Association was organized in 1869, and four years later the furniture-workers joined hands under the name "Trades-Union of Furniture Workers" (Gewerkschaftsunion von Möbelarbeiter), which was subsequently changed to International Furniture Workers' Union of America. Though this is one of the smaller societies of the United States, it is influential by reason of its vigor and activity. It is composed chiefly of Germans, and is one of the more radical unions.[1] The Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen was formed in the same year, and was followed in 1875 by the organization of the horseshoers in Philadelphia. This association is called the National Union of Horseshoers of the United States. It is composed chiefly of Irishmen.

The Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers,

[1] At the present time it may be well to state that I do not mean by radical, violent and revolutionary, or anarchistic. No national labor organization supports the theory of anarchy, but several, as we shall see, favor far-reaching but peaceful social and industrial changes.

the strongest trades-union[1] in the country, was formed in 1876 by the consolidation of three unions: namely, the Sons of Vulcan, already mentioned, the Associated Brotherhood of Iron and Steel Heaters, and the Iron and Steel Roll Hands' Union, of which the two latter were organized in 1873.

The Granite Cutters' National Union of the United States of America was organized in 1877; the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, in 1881; the Cigar Makers' Progressive Union of America, in 1882; the National Hat Makers', in 1883; the Railroad Brakemen, in 1884. The coal-miners formed a National Federation in 1885, and illustrated a natural order of growth. Local societies formed first State organizations, but improved facilities of communication and transportation have brought the various parts of the country so near together that the necessity of national organization has been keenly felt for some time.

The Journeymen Bakers' National Union of the United States was organized in Pittsburg in January, 1886, and has probably done as much to improve the condition of its members, a most unfortunate class heretofore, as has ever been accomplished by any American trades-union in the same time; though the good done has unfortunately been attended with considerable friction between employers and employees, for which the blame must undoubtedly be shared by both sides.

Other trades-unions which must be mentioned are the following: The Chicago Seamen's Union, the United Order of Carpenters and Joiners, the Plasterers' National Union, the Journeymen Tailors' National Union of the United

[1] Several other stronger organizations which will be mentioned are not trades-unions, but associations of laborers of various occupations, or combinations of different unions, or both.

States, Deutsch-Amerikanische Typographia (composed of those setting type for German books or periodicals), American Flint Glass Workers, and the Universal Federation of Window Glass Workers. Workingmen who have national or international organizations of which I am not acquainted with the precise names are the boiler-makers, book-keepers (clerks included), bottle-blowers, stationary engineers, metal-workers, piano-makers, plumbers, railroad switchmen, shoe-lasters, spinners, stereotypers, telegraphers, silk-weavers, wood-carvers.

Although there are omissions in this enumeration, it contains a complete list, I believe, of the more important national and international American trades-unions. It must be remembered, however, in any estimate of the strength of American trades-unions, that there are still a vast number of independent local organizations. It is not at all improbable that there may be as many as one hundred such in the city of New York, and they will be found in every large American city. The strongest of these local unions, so far as I know, is the Journeymen Bricklayers' Protective Association of Philadelphia, which was organized in 1880, and now embraces nearly two thousand members. On the 19th of October this association dedicated the Bricklayers' Hall. The building situated at the corner of Broad Street and Fairmount Avenue in Philadelphia, was constructed at a cost of $52,000, and is probably the finest building owned by an American trades-union. The national trades-unions may, roughly speaking, be said to vary in strength from two to twenty-five thousand members to each. The latter number is about the strength of the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers and the International Typographical Union. Several unions have from ten to fifteen or sixteen thousand members, while five, six, and seven thousand

members is a common number. A few foreign trade societies have members in America. The two most prominent of these are the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, Machinists, Millwrights, Smiths, and Pattern Makers, founded in 1851, in England, and the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners, established in 1860, which is likewise a British Association. These two unions together have several thousand American members.

Nearly all the more prominent organizations have monthly or weekly organs; as, for example, *The Carpenter*, *The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers' Monthly Journal*, *Iron Moulders' Monthly Journal*, *Firemen's Magazine*, *Progress*, issued by the Cigar Makers' Progressive Union, *Cigar Makers' Official Journal*, issued by the Cigar Makers' International Union, *The Granite Cutters' Journal*, *The American Glass Worker*, *Furniture Workers' Journal*, etc. These are fairly well edited; some of them, it must be said, excellently, when one considers that their editors are workingmen whose educational opportunities have been comparatively slight. The fact that many of these journals are printed in several languages is significant, and is characteristic of the labor press. It is an indication of the internationalism of the labor movement in the United States. The greater part of the papers is generally in English, but next to English the German is the language most used. French and Bohemian articles are occasionally found.

Many trades-unions, and other labor organizations, established during various periods in our history, have perished; but it is not necessary to mention more than one or two of these in this place. Probably the strongest of all the defunct organizations was the order called the "Knights of St. Crispin," which was established on an international basis in 1869, and included at one time nearly a hundred thousand members.

The local unions were called lodges, and these were joined together in State or Provincial grand lodges, which, in turn, were represented in the International Grand Lodge, the supreme power of the order. There were State or Provincial grand lodges in Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Louisiana, Kentucky, California, Ontario, New Brunswick, and elsewhere. A separate branch, composed of women, was called the "Daughters of St. Crispin."

The Knights of St. Crispin obtained great influence in the boot and shoe manufacturing establishments of the country, and used it to advance their interest. The order was recognized by a large number of well-disposed manufacturers for a time, and many disputes were settled amicably by arbitration.

Their efforts were also directed to legislative reforms, and the ten-hour law passed in Massachusetts in 1874 was due largely to their agitation. But they looked beyond trades-unions to the ultimate establishment of co-operative production. As it is often, though erroneously, supposed that the working classes of America have not given much attention to co-operation, a quotation from the report of the Knights of St. Crispin on co-operation in 1871, may well be inserted at this place; especially as it is merely typical. It is as follows: "We regard the trades-unions simply as an agent, a means to an end, that should be to secure to the laborer a just reward for his toil; and, in so far as they afford the means of resistance to encroaching capital and in their acknowledged educational influence over the members, they are indispensable, but we cannot help thinking if they stop with simply preserving their numerical strength, they are in the long run apt to fail and become extinct; so, then, your committee while urging the use of every honorable means to preserve the integrity of the order, and extend its influence

and usefulness, would just as earnestly urge our brothers to use their utmost endeavors to build up in the order a system of co-operation in both trade and manufactures; for in so doing they would not only improve their own condition, but lift the order into a position of the highest respectability and influence."

The last meeting of the International Grand Lodge was held in 1873; and though a partially successful effort was made to revive the order in 1876, and it received sufficient strength to take part in the strikes of 1877 and 1878, it never again regained a firm foothold. The causes of the decay of the order were internal dissensions, and attacks from employers, who were placed in a trying position by the crisis of 1873, and the "hard times" in the following years; for there were always employers who did not accept the scale of prices offered by the Crispins, and these soon began to place goods on the market at lower figures than was possible for their competitors working in harmony with the Knights. One source of great weakness which more than anything else rendered it impossible for them to force all employers to recognize them, was due to the wonderful division of labor in the boot and shoe industry, in which there are sixty-four distinct branches.[1] Most of the operations of the employees, it is manifest, must be simple in the extreme, and on this account it was easy to supply the place of strikers from the ranks of unskilled labor.

In 1866 the delegates of the various labor organizations met in Baltimore, and formed what was called the National Labor Union, which rapidly attained great strength, numbering, it is said, six hundred and forty thousand members in 1868. But its growth proved to be but of a mushroom character, for it expired in a few years of the disease known

[1] See Farnam, l.c., p. 20.

as politics. Fatal malady! how often has it destroyed budding but promising life! However, the National Labor Union accomplished two things: it gave an impulse to the agitation for an eight-hour day, which is still felt; and it issued a demand for a national bureau of labor statistics, which was granted after a constant reiteration of the demand during the succeeding twenty years. Earlier apparent success attended the efforts of the National Labor Union to establish an eight-hour day for the employees of government. On the 24th of June, 1869, a bill for an eight-hour day was introduced into Congress by General Banks, whose wife, by the way, was once a factory girl in Lowell. This passed the House and Senate, promptly received the signature of the President of the United States, General Grant, and was enforced in the Navy Yard at Charlestown, Mass., July 6 of the same year. But the politicians, who at the time of elections are so fond of the laborers, usually care little for the enforcement of laws in behalf of labor, and in violation of the spirit of the law, the employees of the United States were notified that our wealthy and powerful government would reduce wages one-fifth; but that those who so desired could work ten hours at the old rates. The workingmen showed their indignation in such manner as apparently to make the politicians think of votes at future elections, or to fear trouble, and the order was reversed by the President. But success was again illusory. The eight-hour law is still on our statute books, and a like law exists in several States, but it is a dead letter.[1] Can any one doubt if it were a law

[1] It should be distinctly understood that all these eight-hour laws relate chiefly to public employees; that is, to the civil servants of federal government, of State, or of municipality. They are not mandatory for private employers of labor, though some of the State laws declare that eight hours shall be a day's labor when nothing to the contrary is stipulated.

in favor of great railway corporations or banking institutions, it would be enforced? Yet the political newspapers, who in discussions of free trade and protection are often so solicitous about the welfare of the laborer, and are so sensitively alive to his true interests that one would imagine that their editors scarcely thought even of the existence of the remaining classes of society, — these newspapers preserve a most singular silence on the subject of our eight-hour laws. But the agitation still goes on, and the laborers propose to settle the matter sooner or later, without help of government, by a general refusal to work longer than eight hours.

An effort was made to introduce the eight-hour day by strikes in 1872 and 1873, when eight-hour leagues were formed in some of the States and cities; but only a small measure of success attended this endeavor. A still greater effort to introduce the eight-hour day was made on the 1st of May, 1886; but the most powerful labor organization, the Knights of Labor, did not heartily indorse the movement, as their chief, Mr. Powderly, and others did not think the time ripe for it. Nevertheless, several hundred thousand men struck; but they again failed to accomplish their end, although the failure in this case, as before, was not complete. Many thousand laborers have attained an eight-hour day, and a still larger number have received a reduction from ten hours. Nine hours is common in the building trades, and in some cases a workday of nine hours five days in the week, and eight hours on Saturday, has been secured.[1]

[1] *Bradstreet's* estimated the number of strikers for shorter hours at 200,000, of whom 50,000 were granted their demands, while 150,000 secured shorter hours, generally with full pay, without a strike. But on June 12, the same paper estimated that one-third of these had lost what had been conceded to them, and predicted that a still larger number would lose the advantage gained. There can be no doubt of

While the eight-hour movement has received a set-back for the present, it is certain to come into prominence again, and there is reason to think that it will be ultimately successful.[1] The most intelligent men among the laboring classes seem to be unanimously in favor of it, and some of the best thinkers on social topics, outside of the laboring classes, favor the establishment of an eight-hour day.

The Muses are frequently invoked by those who believe in eight hours as the normal working-day, and the laborers are inspired by song. The following poem, written some time ago, is one of the many on this subject, and may be taken as a specimen of the poetry which appears in the labor press.[2]

EIGHT HOURS.

BY J. G. BLANCHARD.

We mean to make things over; we're tired of toil for nought
But bare enough to live on; never an hour for thought.

this; but the 200,000 included only those who secured a reduction of hours by the movement of May 1, and not those, perhaps as many, who were already working less than ten hours a day, as, for example, the window-glass workers.

[1] Manufacturers express themselves as well pleased with the eight-hour day in Australia, and it seems to give general satisfaction. Its establishment is annually celebrated, and the most influential people on the island participate in the festivities. While this in itself is not sufficient to prove the desirability of the eight-hour day in the United States, the Australian experiment deserves attention. The question is too large for exhaustive treatment in this place, and I will only call attention to this fact: investigations show that laborers as a rule make a good use of the leisure afforded by shorter hours. At first, they are inclined to spend the time foolishly, or worse than foolishly, but soon this changes. The reports of English parliamentary commissions are instructive on this topic.

[2] This quotation is taken from *Die Amerikanischen Arbeiterverhältnisse*, by Dr. von Studnitz.

We want to feel the sunshine, we want to smell the flowers;
We're sure that God has willed it, and we mean to have eight hours.
We're summoning our forces from the shipyard, shop, and mill.
Eight hours for work, eight hours for rest, eight hours for what we will.
The beasts that graze the hillside, the birds that wander free
In the life that God has meted, have a better lot than we.
Oh! hands and hearts are weary, and homes are heavy with dole;
If life's to be filled with drudgery, what need of a human soul!
Shout, shout the lusty rally from shipyard, shop, and mill.
The very stones would cry out if labor's tongue were still!
The voice of God within us is calling us to stand
Erect, as is becoming the work of His right hand.
Should he to whom the Maker His glorious image gave,
Cower, the meanest of His creatures, a bread-and-butter slave!
Let the shout ring down the valleys, and echo from every hill,
Eight hours for work, eight hours for rest, eight hours for what we will.

The Patrons of Husbandry, or Grangers, as they are more usually called, must receive notice in any account of the labor movement in America, even if it be merely a sketch like the present work. This order, founded in 1866, although composed of independent farmers and not of employees, has not been without influence on labor movements in the United States, and one of its chief officers writes me that the Patrons of Industry desire their association to be called a labor organization. The Patrons of Husbandry grew rapidly during the first decade of their existence, and in November, 1875, their membership was reported at 763,263; but a decline began soon after this which continued until two or three years ago, since which time there has been a revival of interest and an increase of strength in the Grange. It is a good sign that a connection has recently been formed in several States between the Patrons of Husbandry and the Knights of Labor, chiefly urban mechanics and laborers: for common action between city and country cannot fail to furnish both a healthy stimulus and a sound

conservatism to the entire labor movement. On this same account it is to be greeted as a welcome omen that the Farmers' Alliance of Illinois has become "part and parcel" of the Knights of Labor, and that plans for common action between the Knights and the farmers of Texas have been formed, while rural assemblies of the Knights of Labor are being organized in Ohio and Indiana.

The general aims of the Grangers are well set forth in their "Declaration of Purposes," from which the following quotation is an extract: —

"We shall endeavor to advance our cause by laboring to accomplishing the following objects: To develop a better and higher manhood and womanhood among ourselves. To enhance the comforts and attractions of our homes, and strengthen our attachments to our pursuits. To foster mutual understanding and co-operation. . . . To discountenance the credit system, the mortgage system, the fashion system, and every other system tending to prodigality and bankruptcy.

"We propose meeting together, talking together, working together, buying together, selling together, and in general acting together for our mutual protection and advancement, as occasion may require. We shall avoid litigation as much as possible by arbitration in the Grange. . . .

"We are not enemies to capital, but we oppose the tyranny of monopolies. We long to see the antagonism between labor and capital removed by common consent and by an enlightened statesmanship worthy of the nineteenth century. It shall be an abiding principle with us to relieve any of our oppressed and suffering brotherhood by any means at our command.

"Last, but not least, we proclaim it among our purposes to inculcate a proper appreciation of the abilities and sphere of

woman, as is indicated by admitting her to membership and position in our order.

The local units called Granges are united in State Granges, and over the State Granges is the highest authority among the Patrons of Husbandry, the National Grange. The Grangers were perhaps the first power in this country to curb our railways, and in this way they have accomplished much good, though part of the legislation which they favored and actually secured, particularly in the West and Northwest, was unfortunately based on wrong principles, and could not be permanent.

The achievements of the Patrons in co-operation, and the educational value of their order, will receive attention in later chapters of this book.

Uriah S. Stevens, a tailor of Philadelphia, called together eight friends on Thanksgiving Day, in 1869, and organized a society which in nineteen years has grown to be the most powerful and the most remarkable labor organization of modern times. Although the origin of the Knights of Labor, for to this society reference is made, was thus humble, it was established on truly scientific principles, which involved either an intuitive perception of the nature of industrial progress, or a wonderful acquaintance with the laws of economic society. It has thus happened that a new phase of the labor movement has been inaugurated on American soil and the general course of its future development indicated.

The older trades-unions were perhaps the only form of organization which could be usefully employed in an earlier period; but, although still useful, they are not large enough to carry forward the labor movement of to-day, and the reason for this becomes obvious with a little reflection on the nature of modern production. The invention of new ma-

chinery and the improvement in technical processes have weakened the position of unions composed exclusively of mechanics of a single trade. The division of labor, which is one of the most marked features of industrial progress, renders each particular step in manufacture comparatively simple, and the relative number of workingmen requiring special skill diminishes. It becomes easy to fill places of union men who will not accept conditions satisfactory to their employers from the ranks of unskilled labor. This, as has already been remarked, was one cause of the fall of the Knights of St. Crispin. But this is not all; changes in manufactures are rendering entire classes of skilled mechanics quite useless, and these fall into the class of unskilled labor, which is thus constantly filled to repletion. Take the case of printers; men are now endeavoring to invent a type-setting machine, which will place this skill among other useless acquirements. Should they succeed, it is not easy to see of what use the International Typographical Union could be to its members, unless it should indeed change its character, enlarge its scope, and enter into closer connection with other labor organizations. Now the order of the Knights of Labor was founded with a perception of these facts, and those who originated it, and have given to it its animus, have sought to organize a society which should embrace all branches of skilled and unskilled labor, for mutual protection, for the promotion of industrial and social education among the masses, and for the attainment of beneficent public and private reforms. There is provided room within the order for separate trades-unions, with their own rules and regulations, united by a federal tie, as well as for those outside of any unions.

Long before the Knights of Labor became known to the world, John Stuart Mill, with that marvellous insight into

economic and social relations which at times characterized him, described one of the fundamental principles of the Knights of Labor as that which should characterize future labor organizations. "If," said he, "no improvement were to be hoped for in the general circumstances of the working classes, the success of a portion of them, however small, in keeping their wages, by combination, above the market-rate, would be wholly a matter of satisfaction. But when the elevation of the character and condition of the entire body has at last become a thing not beyond the reach of rational effort, it is time that the better-paid classes of skilled artisans should seek their own advantage in common with, and not by exclusion of, their fellow-laborers. While they continue to fix their hopes on hedging themselves in against competition, and protecting their own wages by shutting out others from access to their employment, nothing better can be expected from them than total absence of any large and generous aims. . . . Success, even if attainable in raising up a protected class of working people, would now be a hindrance instead of a help to the emancipation of the working classes at large."

The reason for this judgment is, that improvements in means of production have now rendered the elevation of the entire body an object of rational effort. Consequently, did we succeed in the attempt to elevate skilled artisans and mechanics, and solve the labor question in so far as they are concerned, there would remain still a great mass at the bottom of society with pressing and unsatisfied needs. A "Fifth Estate" would arise and clamor for emancipation. The problem of production is well on the way to solution. What now agitates the public is the problem of distribution, and the Knights of Labor propose to assist in its solution for the entire race. They reason correctly that if they can

elevate the lowest social stratum, they will raise all other strata. It is thus that they put themselves in line with the precepts of Christianity. The strong help to bear the infirmities of the weak, and no grander conception of human brotherhood than that which they profess, characterizes any movement of our times.[1]

The local societies are called local assemblies, generally indicated by the letters L. A., and these may be composed entirely of men of one trade, or of men of various pursuits. In the latter case it is called mixed. Three-fourths of the members of new "locals" must be wage-workers; but men of all classes are admitted, with the exception of bankers, stock-brokers, professional gamblers, lawyers, and those who in any way derive their living from the manufacture or sale of intoxicating liquors. Above the local assemblies are the district assemblies, which are sometimes geographical and sometimes trade distinctions. Richmond and Manchester, Virginia, constitute one district. Locals and districts are distinguished by numbers. "District Assembly" 41, for example, includes the local assemblies of Baltimore and vicinity, while "Local Assembly" 300 is composed of glass-

[1] Mr. Powderly explains well the present situation in these words, taken from the *New York Sun* of March 29, 1886: "With the introduction of labor-saving machinery the trade (of machinists and blacksmiths) was all cut up, so that a man who had served an apprenticeship of five years might be brought in competition with a machine run by a boy, and the boy would do the most and the best. I saw that labor-saving machinery was bringing the machinist down to the level of a day laborer, and soon they would be on a level. My aim was to dignify the laborer." In the same article he mentions the fact that his greatest difficulty in inducing the machinists and blacksmiths to join the Knights of Labor lay in the contempt with which they looked upon other workers. This is characteristic of the narrow spirit which formerly separated the various trades.

workers. Some of the locals are not included in any district, but are directly subordinate to the highest authority in the order, the "General Assembly," a delegate body or congress representing the entire order. This is the case with L. A. 300, which is larger than some district assemblies; about twice as large, for example, as D. A. 59, which embraces locals in Chicago and vicinity.[1] Some of the assemblies have adopted special names, as the "Henry George Assembly"; while the locals composed exclusively of women occasionally prefer some more poetical or mysterious designation; one in Baltimore, for example, bears the name, "The Unknown"; while another, in Texas, is called "The Guiding Star Assembly."

The "Noble Order of the Knights of Labor" was at first an organization the very existence of which was kept a secret. Its name was never mentioned, but it was indicated by five stars, thus *****, and for several years it grew rapidly in this profound secrecy. Finally, however, rumors became rife about "The Five Stars," as it was called, and Philadelphians noticed with trepidation that a few cabalistic chalk-marks in front of "Independence Hall" could bring several thousand men together. Alarm spread, newspapers circulated absurd fictions in regard to its designs, in which accusations of communism and incendiarism were prominent, and Catholic and Protestant clergymen hastened to denounce the unknown monster. Finally it was decided to abandon the policy of extreme secrecy[2] which had characterized the infancy of the order, and it came before the world with a statement of principles and repudiated all con-

[1] This statement is based on the statistics in the Report of the General Secretary at the last General Assembly, which was held at Hamilton, Ontario, October, 1885.

[2] A special meeting was held to consider this matter in June, 1878,

nection with violent and revolutionary associations. The pledge[1] binding members not to divulge the affairs of the Knights was declared not binding with reference to the confessional, and thus the hostility of the Roman Catholic clergy was generally overcome, and many priests of this church have since then become warm friends of the order, although it has met with denunciation on the part of one or two of its higher authorities, particularly in Canada. The first general assembly was held in Reading, Pa., in 1878, when its membership is said to have amounted to eighty thousand. A meeting of the General Assembly has been held annually since then, and of late years each annual report shows growth. In 1883 the number of members in round figures was 52,000; in 1884, 71,000; 1885, 111,000. The reports are dated July 1

in the city of Philadelphia. The call, signed by the founder, Uriah S. Stevens, then Grand Master Workman, was headed: —

"N. AND H. O.

OF THE

* * * * *

OF NORTH AMERICA.

PEACE AND PROSPERITY TO THE FAITHFUL!

To the Fraternity wherever found, Greeting: —

SPECIAL CALL."

The reason for this special call is stated to be "on account of what is believed by many of our most influential members to be an emergency of vast and vital importance to the stability, usefulness, and influence of our order." The business to come before the meeting, as further stated, "is to consider the expediency of making the name of the Order public for the purpose of defending it from the fierce assaults and defamation made upon it by press, clergy, and corporate capital, and to take such further action as shall effectually meet the GRAVE EMERGENCY."

[1] It is now simply one's word of honor.

in each case. The growth during the past year has been entirely without precedent; and though no one knows the present membership,[1] estimates range from three to five hundred thousand. Occasionally one hears rumors of one million, a million and a half, and even two million members; but there appears to be no ground whatever for such estimates. It is, however, doubtless true that over one million persons have at one time or another been members of the order, possibly even two millions, and it is not at all improbable that a million Americans sympathize with its general aims and endeavor to act in harmony with its movements. Under pressure of hard times members will drop out of workingmen's societies, and it is difficult to keep alive an interest in an organization among the less intelligent laborers, who are apt to join to accomplish some temporary purpose, or out of love of novelty. But these same men who have dropped out will, under favorable circumstances, again pour into the organizations. The consequence is, that the number of members actually on the rolls of labor organizations is apt to give but an imperfect idea of their strength. It must further be remembered, that as the better workmen are, as a rule, members of trades-unions and the other associations, these various societies often lead even those who have always been non-union men. The growth of the Knights of Labor during the past two years has been more remarkable in the South and East of the United States than elsewhere. The report for July, 1884, shows sixty-four members in Richmond; now one hears rumors, apparently well founded, of six and seven thousand, even of eight thousand, and it is certain that the Knights were able to elect a municipal ticket in the spring of 1886 by a large majority. They swept the city, as the

[1] This was written in July, 1886, and the annual reports are not published until later in the year.

saying is. Four years ago there was not a local assembly south of Baltimore; now local assemblies are springing up in all parts of the South, which some think is the most favorable soil for the order, as it is not occupied to any great extent by trades-unions, and thus offers a free field. There were four local assemblies in Massachusetts in 1882; in October, 1885, 125. Of the 261 "locals" organized in December, 1885, 30 were in Massachusetts. There were seven locals in the single city of Haverhill in 1885, and of these one, numbering nearly eight hundred, was composed exclusively of women, and another consisted of French Canadians. Among the Knights in this place are eight or ten shoe-manufacturers, and several men of prominence in the town.

Two facts which must be mentioned here are among the peculiarities of the present phase of the labor movement. The first is the position taken with reference to women on the one hand, on the other the attitude of women towards the Knights of Labor. It is clearly recognized that women have been, and are still, more oppressed than men, and the truth has been fully perceived that it is impossible to better the condition of the masses permanently unless the lot of workingwomen is ameliorated. As a consequence, the Knights are everywhere endeavoring to help women to secure higher wages and more favorable conditions of service. This effort has been manifested in a thousand different ways. When girls have struck on account of indecent treatment in factories, they have found the Knights their most ardent champions, and large contributions have been made by them and other organized workingmen to support their sisters. Another manifestation of a somewhat different character, and also typical, was recently observed when an American, who had abused his wife, was expelled from the order and word

was sent to Canada, whither he had emigrated, to have nothing to do with the unworthy scoundrel. A third illustration of this praiseworthy endeavor is seen in the co-operative shirt factory in Baltimore, lately started by the workingmen of that city to help the poor sewing women. A new regard for women is thus being cultivated among the masses, and the full significance of this can only be appreciated by him who takes large views of the movements of the day, for the full fruition of seed now sown will not be perceived for many years to come. The workingwomen of the country are, as would naturally be expected, learning to value the "noble order" highly, and many of them are becoming members. Women are among the most ardent, self-sacrificing supporters of this labor movement.

The second fact to which attention must be directed is the membership among the negroes in the South, who are so much inclined to societies of various kinds that one can scarcely find a colored person, male or female, who does not belong to at least one. They are now everywhere joining the Knights of Labor, who do not discriminate against them, and are considered among their most faithful members. The following item in the news sent from Richmond to the Associated Labor Press in April, 1885, is only one of many indications of the attitude of the colored people which might be cited: "The negroes are with us heart and soul, and have organized seven assemblies in this city and one in Manchester with a large membership."

It is said that the largest accessions have come of late from the farmers, and the following States are reported as those in which farmers have either joined the Knights in large numbers, or have entered into friendly relations with them through their own organizations: Virginia, Texas, Nebraska, Indiana, Michigan, and Illinois. One begins to

hear of the Knights of Labor in England and Belgium, and if the order survives internal dissensions,[1] it will soon attain a position of influence in Europe. The order can scarcely be called secret now, as it conceals none of its plans. It is found useful to exclude non-members from its meetings for several obvious reasons. One is the bitter hostility of certain employers who have "victimized" members of the organization. It was largely on this account that its profound secrecy was first maintained; for the determination seems to have been early reached to pursue a more open course as soon as it could protect its members. For the same reason it is deemed desirable in a few places to pursue the early policy, and not to mention the existence of assemblies in these localities. Another reason for closing meetings to the public is, the greater freedom in debate and discussion. The members are for the most part men whose educational advantages have been slight, and in feeling about for theoretical truth, or a correct course of action, they very properly do not desire to incur the ridicule of the press, which could do little good, and would certainly do much harm.

One of the best achievements of the Knights of Labor is the good opinion they have won of many intelligent employers who really wish their laborers well. A forcible example of this was exhibited in Baltimore not long since. The employees of one of the most prominent manufacturers in the city joined the order on his advice to them to do so, and his testimony in a meeting of the Board of Trade, together with arguments of other members, sufficed to induce that body to pass resolutions which were favorable to

[1] Those who imagine attacks from without can destroy it are greatly mistaken. At the present juncture nothing could be so useful to the order of the Knights of Labor as a little persecution.

labor organizations, and highly creditable to the broad intelligence and generous feeling of its members.

The change of feelings in regard to the Knights of Labor is well brought out in the following quotation from the *New York Sun*: —

"Manufacturers who a few years ago would have had nothing to do with the Executive Board,[1] and would have resented any interference in their affairs by it, now send for it to arbitrate between their help and themselves. For instance, in a potters' strike, in 1882, the employers in Trenton refused to resume work until their men quitted the Knights of Labor. This year, in the face of another difficulty between their men and themselves, they agreed to submit their difficulty to the Executive Board. The men were out on strike, and the Board declined to do anything until the men were taken back at the old prices. In three days they submitted a new scale to the employees and strikers, and, as Secretary Turner says, 'succeeded in pleasing both sides for the first time in our history.' The Potters' Association passed a vote of thanks to the Board."

"The capitalists used to think we were demons, or men with horns on our foreheads," said Mr. Turner; "but they find, instead, a little party of plain men who have only one aim — that of making peace and bringing about justice."

The Preamble of the Knights of Labor contains their declaration of purposes, and reads as follows: —

Preamble of the Knights of Labor.

The alarming development and aggressiveness of great capitalists and corporations, unless checked, will inevitably lead to the pauperization and hopeless degradation of the toiling masses.

[1] Officers of the General Assembly, whose functions are indicated by their name.

It is imperative, if we desire to enjoy the full blessings of life, that a check be placed upon unjust accumulation and the power for evil of aggregated wealth.

This much-desired object can be accomplished only by the united efforts of those who obey the divine injunction, "In the sweat of thy face thou shalt eat bread."

Therefore we have formed the Order of Knights of Labor, for the purpose of organizing and directing the power of the industrial masses, not as a political party, for it is more: in it are crystalized sentiments and measures for the benefit of the whole people; but it should be borne in mind, when exercising the right of suffrage, that most of the objects herein set forth can only be obtained through legislation, and that it is the duty of all to assist in nominating and supporting with their votes only such candidates as will pledge their support to these measures, regardless of party. But no one shall, however, be compelled to vote with the majority, and calling upon all who believe in securing "the greatest good to the greatest number" to join and assist us, we declare to the world that our aims are: —

I. To make industrial and moral worth, not wealth, the true standard of individual and national greatness.

II. To secure for the workers the full enjoyment of the wealth they create; sufficient leisure in which to develop their intellectual, moral, and social faculties; all of the benefits, recreation, and pleasure of assóciation; in a word, to enable them to share in the gains and honors of advancing civilization.

In order to secure these results, we demand at the hands of the STATE: —

III. The establishment of Bureaus of Labor Statistics, that we may arrive at a correct knowledge of the educational, moral, and financial condition of the laboring masses.

IV. That the public lands, the heritage of the people, be reserved for actual settlers; not another acre for railroads or speculators; and that all lands now held for speculative purposes be taxed to their full value.

V. The abrogation of all laws that do not bear equally upon capital and labor, and the removal of unjust technicalities, delays, and discriminations in the administration of justice.

VI. The adoption of measures providing for the health and safety of those engaged in mining, manufacturing, and building industries, and for indemnification to those engaged therein for injuries received through lack of necessary safeguards.

VII. The recognition, by incorporation, of trades-unions, orders, and such other associations as may be organized by the working masses to improve their condition and protect their rights.

VIII. The enactment of laws to compel corporations to pay their employees weekly, in lawful money, for the labor of the preceding week, and giving mechanics and laborers a first lien upon the product of their labor to the extent of their full wages.

IX. The abolition of the contract system on national, State, and municipal works.

X. The enactment of laws providing for arbitration between employers and employed, and to enforce the decision of the arbitrators.

XI. The prohibition by law of the employment of children under fifteen years of age in workshops, mines, and factories.

XII. To prohibit the hiring out of convict labor.

XIII. That a graduated income tax be levied.

And we demand at the hands of CONGRESS: —

XIV. The establishment of a national monetary system, in which a circulating medium in necessary quantity shall issue direct to the people, without the intervention of banks; that all the national issue shall be full legal tender in payment of all debts, public and private; and that the government shall not guarantee or recognize any private banks, or create any banking corporations.

XV. That interest-bearing bonds, bills of credit, or notes, shall never be issued by the government; but that, when need arises, the emergency shall be met by issue of legal tender, non-interest-bearing money.

XVI. That the importation of foreign labor under contract be prohibited.

XVII. That, in connection with the post-office, the govern-

ment shall organize financial exchanges, safe deposits, and facilities for deposit of the savings of the people in small sums.

XVIII. That the government shall obtain possession, by purchase, under the right of eminent domain, of all telegraphs, telephones, and railroads; and that hereafter no charter or license be issued to any corporation for construction or operation of any means of transporting intelligence, passengers, or freight.

And while making the foregoing demands upon the State and national government, we will endeavor to associate our own labors: —

XIX. To establish co-operative institutions such as will tend to supercede the wage system, by the introduction of a co-operative industrial system.

XX. To secure for both sexes equal pay for equal work.

XXI. To shorten the hours of labor by a general refusal to work for more than eight hours.

XXII. To persuade employers to arbitrate all differences which may arise between them and their employees, in order that the bonds of sympathy between them may be strengthened, and that strikes may be rendered unnecessary.

This sketch of labor organizations cannot be complete without a word about "The Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada," and about our Central Labor Unions, or Trades Assemblies, or Federations of Labor, as they are variously called.

The first of these central labor unions has been already mentioned as having existed in New York in 1833, under the name of the General Trades Union of the City of New York. Another was formed in Cincinnati in 1864. Now they exist in New York, Philadelphia, Brooklyn, New Haven, Boston, Chicago, Detroit, San Francisco, Baltimore, Washington, and probably in every one of the chief cities of the United States. They are delegate bodies, to which each local union sends representatives, so that the laborers of a

vicinity may act solidly together. Recently a movement has been set on foot to call a convention of representatives of all central labor unions, to solidify still further the interests of labor in all great American cities, and to secure harmonious action for common ends.

The Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions, organized in Pittsburg in 1881, is for the labor organizations of the United States and Canada what the central labor unions are to the local organizations in the cities, and is founded on the model of the Trades Union Congress of England. It aims to promote the common interest of all trades-unions and labor organizations, and to watch the course of legislation in order to promote that which is considered beneficial, and to repress that which is regarded as injurious. Its last annual meeting was held in Washington in December, 1885, when it claimed to represent two hundred and eighty thousand workingmen.

What is the total number of organized laborers at the present time in the United States? This is something which no human being knows or can know with any statistics at command. There are, however, data which enable one to form a rational opinion; and although space will not permit an enumeration of such facts as are known, I do not hesitate to say that I consider a million a conservative estimate; while it is quite possible that the number may be far longer. It is not improbable that one-fourth of our industrial wage-workers belong to some kind of organization.[1]

[1] My estimate is far more conservative than that of others. Mr. Henry Semler, of San Francisco, is quoted as saying that in his opinion ninety-nine out of every hundred Americans belonged to some kind of an organization, and that ninety-five out of a hundred belonged to a mutual aid society of one description or another. I regard this as true only of our colored population.

Nearly all the laborers engaged in certain branches of production in industrial centres are organized, and in other employments a very considerable majority. It is said, for example, that four-fifths of the locomotive engineers, and an equal proportion of locomotive firemen, belong to their respective unions. The president of the Lake Seamen's Union testified before the Blair Committee on Labor three years since, that his organization embraced about seventy-five per cent "of the persons engaged as sailors on the lakes."

A reaction appears to have set in,[1] and it is probable that for some time to come the power of organized labor will decrease; but a change will again come, and the unions and various associations will once more report an increasing membership. The progress of the labor movement may be compared to the incoming tide. Each wave advances a little further than the previous one; and he is the merest tyro in social science, and an ignoramus in the history of his country, who imagines that a permanent decline has overtaken organized labor,[2] whatever his talents or acquisitions may be in other respects. It is to be noticed that before this reaction set in, the organization of labor progressed with such gigantic strides that it was almost impossible to keep pace with it. The gain of the Knights of Labor, over seventy-five per cent from 1884 to 1885, was characteristic of the growth of the entire labor movement.

Another measure of growth is the progress of the press,

[1] Written in July, 1886.

[2] A writer for one of the leading journals in the country headed an editorial in 1877, "The Overthrow of Trades Unionism." It was directed specially against the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers and its chief, Mr. Arthur. That brotherhood is now stronger than ever before, and Mr. Arthur stands high in public opinion in 1886.

which represents a given cause. A German student who wrote a book on American labor in 1876, remarked it as a characteristic of the movement in this country that the labor press was small and insignificant. To-day there may be five hundred labor newspapers in the United States, and among them are nine or ten dailies. It is doubtful if there was a single labor paper in the South three years ago, unless possibly in New Orleans. In 1885 there were three in Richmond, a city of less than one hundred thousand inhabitants. The number of the labor papers is increasing every week. Some of them are edited with considerable ability; many are enlarging their size, using better type than hitherto, and are giving other signs of a secure footing.[1] In short, the evidences of astounding rapidity in the progress of the organization of labor are so overwhelming that they appear on every hand, and fairly force themselves upon us. It is further to be noticed, that these organizations have taken deeper root than ever before; one striking proof of which is that they have continued to grow in power during the last few years of stagnation in business, while the hard years following the panic of 1873 so nearly ruined them that many drew the over-hasty conclusion that they were altogether devoid of strong vitality.

Now comes the question, — the momentous question, — What does all this mean? What is its significance? An attempt will be made to give a satisfactory reply in the following chapters.

[1] Written before the reaction.

CHAPTER IV.[1]

THE ECONOMIC VALUE OF LABOR ORGANIZATIONS.

TRADES-UNIONS and other associations of laborers are designed to protect and advance the interest of the great mass of the working classes. They are intended primarily for the average man, and not for those with extraordinary economic capacities. The latter class may occasionally find them useful, but usually men possessed of economic gifts of a higher order wish no help from labor organizations. They desire a free course, and ask to be let alone. There can be no more useful person in the community than the talented man, provided he is at the same time a man obedient to the dictates of practical ethics; and it is desirable that his freedom of movement should not be restrained, so long as he does not intrench upon the liberties of his neighbor, or does not otherwise injure his fellow-men. It will at times happen that the cheapest man in a town is the "captain of industry," whose unusual abilities yield him an annual income of twenty, thirty, or forty thousand dollars per annum; and by saying that he is the cheapest man in the town, I mean that he renders greater service to the community for every dollar received than any one else.

[1] Credit for much that is in this chapter must be given to Professor Bruntano, whose treatment of this subject in his "Gewerbliche Arbeiterfrage" is the best that I have seen. This monograph is published in the first volume of Schönberg's "Handbuch der politischen Oekonomie." Passages enclosed in quotation marks are from Professor Brentano where nothing to the contrary is stated.

Though it is often necessary to put a check on greed, and to restrain the activity of the unscrupulous, the true policy for all social classes, and therefore for society as a whole, is to encourage the development of talent.

But one of the elementary truths which we in this country specially need to grasp is that the average man is not a peculiarly gifted man. What do we mean by able, talented, and such expressions? By them we call attention to the fact that a man is superior to the vast majority. The terms are relative, and as ordinarily used they can no more apply to all men than two and two can make five. This is simple; but nothing is more fraught with weighty consequences, and nothing is oftener overlooked in discussions of social problems. How common is the saying, "There is always plenty of room on the top shelf," or "in the upper story." What of it? All men can no more get there than every tree in the forest can be taller than all the other trees. Yet people talk as if this were possible. The extreme of this absurdity is seen in the traditional elderly gentleman who tells all the boys in the village school that they may one day become President of the United States. Though doubtless spoken in ignorance, it is, in the nature of things, a falsehood. Let us, then, begin any treatment of the labor question, or any other social problem, with a frank recognition of the fact that we have to deal with the ninety-nine out of a hundred who by no human possibility can ascend to the "upper story." One hundred men may struggle never so hard; but if they are to have only one leader, only one can rise to that position of eminence. You may urge them on and render the struggle severer, but the ultimate result is the same. Take the case of independent producers. The relative number of those who belong to that class has been steadily diminishing for years, as production on a large scale

has taken the place of the small shop. It lies, then, in the nature of things, that under our present industrial system the relative portion of wage-receivers in manufactories must increase. It is not the fault of the laborer; it is not the fault of their employers. When one begins to discuss the labor question, one often hears the remark, "The majority of rich manufacturers began themselves as poor boys. They were once employees." The statement itself will not bear such close scrutiny as some might think, for it is not so true of an old country as of a new; not so true of the manufacturers of forty years of age as of those of seventy. But if we accept the statement, what of it? What bearing has that on the condition of those who remain journeymen all their lives? Is not your self-made man — who, as Horace Greeley said, is sometimes too inclined to worship his own creator — often the most haughty, overbearing, and tyrannical?[1] Not always; for nobler men do not live than some of these. But too often it is true, and the laborer whose master was once a workingman himself has then cause to regret it. It ought at the same time to be remarked, that where one laborer rises to the position of a wealthy man, ten small producers have lost their independent positions and fallen into the rank of wage-receivers. The gradual disappearance of the village carpenter, the village shoemaker, and others of that class, is a fact well known in our own East; and in older countries, the distress of the once large and flourishing class of small masters working with two or three journeymen has given rise to a social problem.

Let us allude to another allied fallacy. The newspapers tell us that the sons of rich men squander their property and fall into the ranks of poor people; and

[1] See Dickens' "Hard Times" for a description of the worst class of self-made men.

this is repeated again and again as if it ought to allay anxiety about the future. Most happily the statement is only exceptionally true; but if it were the unfortunate state of affairs, how could it solve any social problem?

Let us put away all these shallow sophistries. What we want in this country is to know how to improve the laboring man as a laboring man — for such the great mass must remain for many years to come, and it may be safe to say for generations to come, whatever unknown conditions a future social development may bring us. To elevate the farmer as a farmer, the mechanic as a mechanic, the artisan as an artisan, in short, to lift the entire "Fourth Estate," as it is called, should be the effort of public reform and private philanthropy. It is not our public schools in themselves which turn our youth away from manual occupations, but the cry "rise in life" which fills the air and which leads to false estimates of human worthiness. Truly, every one should attempt to "rise in life" in the correct meaning of those words, but our schoolbooks, our periodicals for the young, and, one might almost say, our entire literature, all are carrying to our young people throughout the length and breadth of the land the conception that to rise in life means to become a great manufacturer, a railway president, or a merchant prince. No wonder that humble toil is scorned. Wise words uttered by Charles Kingsley, a man who has done great things to elevate the masses, deserve to be emphasized among us precisely at the present time, even though they may contain a slight exaggeration of the truth which I would convey. "I do not think," says Kingsley, "the cry 'get on' to be anything but a devil's cry. The moral of my book [Alton Locke] is that the workingman who tries to get on, to desert his class and rise above it,

enters into a lie, and leaves God's path for his own — with consequences.[1]

"Second, I believe that a man might be, as a tailor or a costermonger, every inch of him a saint and scholar and a gentleman, for I have seen some few such already. I believe hundreds of thousands more would be so if their businesses were put on a Christian footing and themselves given by education, sanitary reforms, etc., the means of developing their own latent capabilities. I think the cry 'rise in life' has been excited by the very increasing impossibility of being anything but brutes while they struggle below. . . . I believe from experience that when you put workmen into human dwellings and give them a Christian education, so far from wishing discontentedly to rise out of their class or to level others to it, exactly the opposite takes place. They become sensible of the dignity of work, and they begin to see their labor as a true calling in God's church now that it is cleared from the accidentia which made it look in their eyes only a soulless drudgery in a devil's workshop of a world."

Trades-unions and labor organizations are, then, designed to remove disadvantages under which the great mass of workingmen suffer, and must continue to suffer unless they get relief either by voluntary combination or by combined political action. What are these disadvantages? Adam Smith and his French predecessors, the Physiocrats, desired to remove from the laborer all legal restrictions which impeded his freedom of movement, and to give him the right to enter into such agreements with those who might desire

[1] The hero of this wonderful novel expresses the complaint in one place — and that with a tinge of bitterness — that the workingman who remains true to his class and tries to help it, is called a demagogue. Is this true only of England?

his service as he could effect. The reforms which they proposed, and which subsequent legislation in the latter part of the eighteenth century and the earlier part of the nineteenth introduced, were chiefly[1] negative in their character. The watchword was, "Remove the shackles." The economic philosophers of the time believed that legal equality and freedom of contract were the sole conditions needed to enable the working classes to secure a share of the product of national industry, a share sufficient to serve as a basis for their physical, ethical, and spiritual development. This theory was based on two fallacies, — the first was the assumption of the natural equality of men. "The differences found among men in their opinion were not due to original, native qualities, but were the result of education,[2] legislation, and government. Could the restrictions of the State be removed they believed that each member of society would be able to promote his own interests most efficiently without aid from others, and would be able to guard his own interests in the economic struggle for existence. But the equality of men is a chimera, and only those of extraordinary capacities have the ability so to utilize the resources at their command as to obtain the highest possible return from them." The inequality of men in economic affairs, and the inability of those who occupy a lower grade in economic

[1] The word chiefly is used advisedly. Important exceptions can be found in Adam Smith; for example, he says, that whenever any legislation favors the workingman, it is always just.

[2] Adam Smith dwells at length on the idea that the difference between a superior member of the upper classes and a very ordinary man, is due chiefly, if not wholly, to education and early surroundings. Had their places been changed in infancy, the change would have continued, so he argues, throughout life. There is doubtless a large kernel of truth in this, but its import is exaggerated. Exaggerated still further, it became the doctrine of circumstances advocated by Robert Owen.

development to obtain a satisfactory share of the products of industrial activity, is seen most vividly in the case of our native Indians. It has taken us hundreds and perhaps thousands of years to arrive at our present economic stage of growth since we left the "hunting and fishing stage," and when the Indians are immediately transferred to the conditions of our industrial civilization, they are apt to be economically ruined. This was demonstrated in the case of the Chippewa Indians in Michigan. When their reservation was divided and given to them in severalty, white scoundrels soon got it away from them, and it is said that designing men who have covetous eyes fastened on the Indian reservations are at the bottom of the present agitation to have land granted to the Indians in severalty.[1] Now our laboring classes are happily not in the condition of the Indians. The average man has advanced beyond that stage, but it is true that "those whose economic qualifications are only average will never attain even a moderate development of their natural capacities without organization."

The second fallacy was the assumption that labor is a commodity just like other commodities, and the laborer a man with a commodity for sale just like other men who offer their wares to the public. It is true that labor is a commodity, for it is bought and sold, but there are peculiarities about it which distinguish it from other commodities, and that most radically.

While labor is a commodity, it is an expenditure of human force which involves the welfare of a personality. It is a commodity which is inseparably bound up with the laborer,

[1] Of course some sincere men who desire only the true good of the Indian favor this proposition. It is possible it might be desirable, if absolute inalienability were a condition. At any rate the friends of the Indian should proceed carefully in this matter.

and in this it differs from other commodities. The one who offers other commodities for sale reserves his own person. The farmer who parts with a thousand bushels of wheat for money reserves control of his own actions. They are not brought in question at all. Again, the man of property who sells other commodities has an option. He may part with his wares and maintain his life from other goods received in exchange, or he can have recourse to his labor-power. The laborer, however, has, as a rule, only the service residing in his own person with which to sustain himself and his family. Again, a machine, a locomotive, for example, and a workingman resemble each other in this: they both render services, and the fate of both depends upon the manner in which these services are extracted. But there is this radical difference: the machine which yields its service to man is itself a commodity, and is only a means to an end, while the laborer who parts with labor is no longer a commodity in civilized lands, but is an end in himself, for man is the beginning and termination of all economic life. The consequence for the great mass of laborers possessed of only average qualities are as follows, provided there is no intervention of legislation, and provided the working classes are not organized. While those who sell other commodities are able to influence the price by a suitable regulation of production, so as to bring about a satisfactory relation between supply and demand, the purchaser of labor has it in his own power to determine the price of this commodity and the other conditions of sale. There may be exceptions for a time in a new country, but these are temporary and often more apparent than real. Even now in the United States the right of capital to rule is generally assumed as a matter of course, and when labor would determine price and conditions of service, it is called dicta-

tion. The reason is that man comes to this world without reference to supply and demand,[1] and the poverty of the laborer compels him to offer the use of his labor-power unreservedly and continuously. The purchase of labor gives control over the laborer and a far-reaching influence over his physical, intellectual, social, and ethical existence. The conditions of the labor-contract determine the amount of this rulership. Again, while illness, inability to labor, by reason of accident or old age and death, do not destroy other commodities or their power to support life, when these misfortunes overtake the person of the laborer, he loses his power to sell his only property, the commodity labor, and he can no longer support himself and those dependent on him. These consequences of the peculiarity of labor may be summed up as follows: —

1. The absence of actual equality between the two parties to the labor-contract, and the one-sided determination of the price and other conditions of labor.

2. The almost unlimited control of the employer over the social and political life, the physical and spiritual existence, and the expenditures of his employees.

3. The uncertainty of existence which, more than actual difference in possessions, distinguishes the well-to-do from the poor.

These consequences of the peculiarities of labor must be examined somewhat more at length, and this will be done under three different headings, it being understood that the

[1] There are certain qualifications to what is here said, which the limits of this book will not allow me to enumerate. It would be far too large a work for present purposes, were every topic to be treated exhaustively. I always take it for granted that my reader is possessed of common sense, and will not raise trivial objections; also that he is to do some thinking himself.

argument is based on the supposition that labor is unorganized and devoid of legal protection.

I. The laborer considered as a seller of a commodity. The laborer must offer labor in the labor-market in which he resides, and cannot seek the best market, or even a better market, like others who sell commodities. He is often too uneducated to know the conditions of the labor-market in other localities, and too ignorant to be able to pass judgment on such data as are at his command. When he does know, his poverty frequently prevents his removal; for he cannot sell his commodity in a remote place unless he removes his own person thither, nor can he ship, as others do, a sample of his commodity.

If the demand falls, labor cannot be withdrawn from the market like other wares. On the contrary, as the demand decreases, the supply must increase by reason of competition of a greater number of laborers. There are several causes for this. Members of the family who before did not work outside the home, chiefly children and women, will seek labor to eke out the father's income. A decreased demand usually occurs at time of a general depression, and the ranks of the workingmen are enlarged by accessions from other social classes. Competition may thus increase in severity almost to an unlimited extent between laborers, to secure what little work there is. Thus it happens that when demand for labor diminishes, the fall in wages is apt to be more than in proportion to this diminution in demand.

The cost of production is the limit below which the price of other commodities cannot permanently fall, for the production is diminished as the price falls, and at times ceases almost altogether. But the individual laborer cannot diminish his supply of labor so long as he lives, and

misery and death [1] are the factors which must bring about a decrease in the supply of this commodity, and raise its price to the cost of production; in other words, to what it costs the laborer and his family to live, and to maintain the customary standard of life among the members of his class.

Closely connected with the foregoing is the fact that the price of labor does not at once rise when the demand increases, as is usually the case with other commodities, for the first effect is that the unemployed receive work; and after the "reserve-army" finds employment, competition among purchasers of labor raises its price.

Finally, the only way to diminish the supply of the com-

[1] The way these operate is so simple that it ought to be better understood. Few now starve outright; but a large number, especially of the young, starve gradually, as has been abundantly shown by recent investigations; but many more deaths are occasioned in other ways. A carpenter is ill, and previous hard times have exhausted his resources. He dies; whereas a more generous supply of delicacies, better nursing, and more skilful medical attendance would have saved his life. A second mechanic is so poor that he feels that he cannot afford an umbrella. In a severe rain-storm to which he is exposed, the seeds of consumption are laid. A third is unable to afford new shoes, and wet feet at a time of feebleness, and insufficient nourishment, cause his death. These examples may be multiplied *ad libitum*. Thus it is that every pressure of hard times kills thousands upon thousands even in America. The most distinguished statistician of our day, Dr. Engel, calls the causes of most deaths "social." The difficulty is not to prescribe a remedy, but to apply it. A physician cannot tell a man, working for a dollar a day, to take a trip to Egypt for weak lungs! No current fiction is more widely removed from the truth than the common assertion that workingmen and their families enjoy exceptionally good health. The exact opposite is the truth, and statistics have established the fact beyond controversy, that laborers are shorter-lived by many years than those who belong to the wealthier social classes. Dr. Lyman Abbott quotes some interesting statistics on this subject in a recent article in the *Century Magazine*.

modity labor in the market in the future, is, by prudence in marriage, to diminish the birth-rate. But to accomplish this, will and intelligence are necessary, and some probability that the laborer would reap the fruits of his self-denial. No such guarantee exists because the folly of his fellows will render his prudence of no avail. In addition to this, the laborer in America can hope to influence the supply of labor offered in the market of the future, only when he gains some control over immigration.

II. Consequences affecting the personal life of the laborer. — The employer is able to determine the conditions of the labor-contract in such manner that he may exercise rulership over the laborer in four ways : —

1. He can influence the expenditures of the laborer in such manner as to render him nearly as dependent as a serf. One method is to pay the laborer only at long intervals, which leads almost inevitably to the use of credit and this means debt. Those who are unable to pay current expenses at the time when incurred are apt to lead a less economical life, and thus debt becomes chronic and the prospect of escape well-nigh hopeless.[1] Sometimes the employer lends money — already earned — to his employees, and thus keeps them always in debt to him. A more common method used in America to establish the dependence of the employee and to keep back part of his wages, is the

[1] One of the largest employers of labor in this country, who practices what he preaches, tells me that in his opinion, one of the first steps in the improvement in the condition of the laborer is weekly payments. He has given me many facts which have come under his observation to show the importance of this measure. If I understand him, he is so thoroughly persuaded that weekly payments are an indispensable condition of reform that he would interpose no objection to legal compulsion.

truck system, which is perhaps more widely prevalent in this country than elsewhere. It may be well to explain for the benefit of some readers less familiar with practical life, that the truck system means the establishment of stores by employers, in which their employees are practically compelled to trade. Generally there is nominal, but only nominal, liberty granted the employees to buy where they choose. These are often paid in orders on stores in which the employer or his agent has an interest, and these orders are accepted elsewhere only at a discount. Sometimes wages are paid in a shop or saloon late at night, so as to encourage expenditure in the same place; occasionally there is an understanding with a shopkeeper, who gives the employer a percentage on all purchases of employees. An employer has been known to redeem his own orders at a discount of ten per cent when handed in by the local dealers. Notice is taken of those who do not purchase at the company store, and they stand in danger of discharge. Another form of payment in kind, consists in the occupation of houses owned by the employer. Those who live elsewhere are usually the first discharged.

So great is the injury to the working classes that in several States these practices are forbidden by law; but there are always unscrupulous employers who do not hesitate to disobey laws in favor of labor, and so great is their influence that the law is not generally enforced.

The laborer is frequently cheated in weight, quality, and price. A journal in Pittsburg recently sent an agent to a well-known industrial region to investigate the charge preferred by workingmen against their employers that they, the employees, were compelled to purchase goods at the company stores at exorbitant prices. The employers denied the truth of this, and maintained that no one was compelled to

buy at "our store." The workingmen replied in substance, so the newspaper stated, "You lie." The reporter of the journal found the charge substantiated, and by inquiring at various stores ascertained that the average excess of charges on a number of specified articles was sixty per cent. The overcharge on other articles was smaller, but he credited the statement of a laborer that he was compelled to pay fully twenty to twenty-five per cent more for his goods than the prices elsewhere. "If we don't deal with the company," continued he, "we are quickly told to go and get work from the men we buy our goods of." Reports of the bureaus of labor statistics abound with complaints of this character, and I myself have seen a miner's book in which receipts and charges exactly balanced at the close of the month, leaving the poor fellow without one cent in cash: I noticed, too, that the company store did not furnish details. The charge was not so many pounds of sugar, so much; but, sugar, 56 cents; pork, 70 cents, etc.[1]

[1] An Ohio commission, consisting of Professor Orton, of the State University, and one employer and one miner, investigated this subject in the mining district of Ohio two years ago. From their report I quote these words: —

"Throughout the counties of Perry, Hocking, Athens, Vinton, Jackson, and Lawrence, stores are connected with most of the principal coal mines, at which, as a rule, the miners are *expected*, and thus indirectly *obliged*, to purchase their supplies in whole or in part. . . . If their cash balances are too large, they are sometimes reminded of their duty to spend more at the stores.

"Throughout this same territory, checks, scrip, and orders are largely used, in open disregard of the laws passed to prevent their use.

"The truck system has a depressing and demoralizing influence upon the laborer. . . . This system, however designed and however guarded, inflicts upon the communities where it is in force the evils of a depreciated currency, in addition to the extravagance and over-trading which it everywhere encourages."

Another form of oppression better known in Europe than in this country, in which, if it exists at all, it is rare, is found in the compulsory insurance connected with certain lines of employment. Those who accept labor in some establishments, particularly in Germany, are compelled to take out insurance to provide for cases of accident, for disease, old age, etc. Dismissal renders it impossible to continue payments, and the employees will often submit to much hardship sooner than lose the provision against misfortune, and incur risk for themselves and for their families.

2. The employer exercises an influence over the health of his employees as well as over life and limb. Where the commodity labor is desired, there the laborer must abide. He is thus compelled to risk health in ill-ventilated rooms, or rooms over-heated or under-heated, and his life is needlessly jeopardized by failure to fence in dangerous machinery, or to employ other well-known life-saving devices. It is reported that there are yearly fifteen thousand accidents to railway employees in the United States, and it is not improbable that two-thirds of these are needless. Again, when an employer directs labor, he chooses the place where the laborer must pass the greater part of the time not consumed in sleep, and in this manner selects the laborer's companions for more than half his life. The order is, You must work here in this place by the side of this man, whether he is a responsible man or a scoundrel; whether a skilful artisan or a careless and inexperienced mechanic, who exposes your life to constant danger.[1] Finally, when

[1] This is an especially important consideration in mines and on railways, considering the interpretation the courts of many States are putting upon the doctrine of "fellow-servant." There is now practically no redress when an employee is maimed or killed. Vide *Christian Union*, July 22, 1886, for a *résumé* of the law.

the length of time of each day's labor is fixed by the employer, he determines the physical exhaustion of the laborer; he also decides whether the pregnant woman in his service shall give birth to a sound, healthy child, or one weak and feeble; also whether the children who toil for him shall become strong men and women, or old before their time.[1]

3. The influence of the employer over the mental and moral development of the laboring classes is not less powerful; and when this has been said, it is seen to how large an extent the future of the nation depends upon the large employers of labor, whether private individuals or corporations. This influence is exerted through selection of companions and the decision in regard to the length of the working day; further by action with reference to night-work, work beneath the surface of the earth, to regulations concerning the labor of women and children, etc. All this is of importance for the family life and for the education of the laboring classes. Overwork, and work under unfavorable conditions in regard to temperature and the like, are responsible for much intemperance among the working classes, as every competent physician who has had experience among them well knows.

4. Employers are able to influence the political and religious life of their employees. Religious opinions in the United States are generally left to the laborers without interference, though not always; but it may be doubted if interference with political rights is anywhere carried further. I know a whole town, for example, whose inhabitants while free in certain elections, in others are marched like sheep to

[1] In the first half of the century English laborers not infrequently became old at thirty, and physicians began to express the fear that the English race was about to enter a period of physical degeneration.

the polls, and ordered to vote in a manner well pleasing to a great corporation.[1]

III. The character of modern industry rendered it difficult, and, until organization or government came to his assistance, impossible for the average laborer to provide proper economic security for himself and his family by means of insurance. Every loss of work involved a loss of power to contribute to relief funds of any description.

It is on account of these peculiarities of the commodity labor, together with changes in industrial processes due to inventions and discoveries, that the hopes of Adam Smith and his friends have not been realized. Not many, only a few, have become independent producers. The vast majority of the industrial classes have remained employees, and most of their employers have in older countries, probably to a less extent in America, used their power unscrupulously; and even those who have no wish to do so, have often been forced by competition to establish harder and harder conditions of toil for the laborer. Formerly the number of apprentices was regulated by law, or by custom having the force of law. When this restriction was removed, experienced journeymen were dismissed in large masses, and their places supplied by apprentices. When machinery became more perfect, women and children replaced men; and it has happened in Massachusetts, as well as in England, that the father has remained at home and cared for the house and the babies while his wife and children have worked in the factory for the support of the family. Unnatural competitors! Unnatural relation!

[1] Once it was impossible to hire a man to distribute ballots for the party not in favor with this corporation. A man was found with difficulty who promised to render the service for five dollars, but before the time came, he begged to be released from his promise because he would otherwise lose his employment.

And as machinery became more general and more costly, the length of the working day was lengthened until it became, even for women and children, sixteen and eighteen hours in cases not rare. Indeed, it has been generally longer where women and children have been the predominating labor force, because they are less powerful to resist oppression. Then, as production on a larger and ever larger scale took the place of the small shops, crises became more common and more disastrous. Men were no longer hired for a long period, but from day to day, and that uncertainty and irregularity of income which is so disastrous to society became general. High wages were followed by a total absence of work. Thousands of laborers became tramps, their daughters prostitutes, and their sons criminals. Reduction after reduction of wages followed. When the laborers combined to withdraw a quantity of their property, the commodity labor, from the market, so as to raise its price just as sellers of other commodities do, they were thrown into prison; for the old conspiracy and combination laws continued long after the legal protection afforded labor by a previous generation had been abolished.[1] Even after the abolition of these laws, the opposition of employers and the excessive control they had acquired over the working classes long interposed almost insuperable obstacles in the way of trades-unions. In the north of England in 1844, forty thousand miners were discharged to force them to

[1] The laws against combinations were abolished in England in 1824, but the courts continued to oppose trades-unions until 1869 as being "in restraint of trade," and the courts did not protect them until authorized by the legislation of 1871. The laws against combinations, or "coalitions," continued in force in France until 1864. In Austria they were abolished about the same time; but not in all parts of Germany until 1871. They were not abolished in Maryland until 1884.

abandon their combination, and in July, 1881, a large employer in the Rhine Province in Germany threatened to dismiss every laborer who belonged to a trades-union, or who read certain books, or who frequented certain restaurants, or who bought goods of certain merchants mentioned by name, who were supposed to favor trades-unions.

In this country we have added two refinements of cruelty, called the black list and the iron-clad oath, which are found in all parts of our land, although strongly condemned by the best public sentiment. The black list is a "boycott" against labor. A man who for any reason, be it even whim, caprice, or personal spite, falls into disfavor with one employer, is placed on the black list, and his name, at times accompanied by a personal description, is sent to allied employers all over the country. Thirty-three men were black-listed in Fall River a few years ago because they had asked for an increase of wages, and they were compelled to seek work under assumed names. It is reported, on apparently good authority, that one railway corporation has a book containing names of a thousand black-listed persons, with a full description of each. The black list will pursue a man for years, will drive him out of an honest trade to rum-selling, and will follow him across the continent, and everywhere defeat his efforts to gain a livelihood. Two quotations from persons who have had opportunity to see the workings of the black list will help my readers to understand its terrible atrocity. The first is from Fred Woodrow's contribution to the "Labor Problem."[1] "Black-listing . . . has the merit of being very effective; its edict is final; it troubles no jury and sends for no sheriff; . . . it has its watch-dog by every door, and woe to the man

[1] Harper & Brothers, New York, 1886, pp. 288–9.

who, with its brand on his brow, seeks for work. . . . He is proclaimed by a corporation Czar. . . . I well remember a workmate of my own being put under this ban of ostracism. He was discharged without notice, and the reason refused him. I did my best for his re-engagement; previous successes made me confident, but this case baffled me. I suggested application to another department, under the management of a humane and kindly man. He refused. Another was tried — the same result. I completed the circle, and in every case blank but unwilling refusal — my unfortunate comrade sent adrift, with the onus of some unknown disgrace staining his name, for more than six hundred miles. It came to my knowledge subsequently that he was blacklisted at the request of *one man*, whose personal ill-will was gratified in his discharge. Such cases are not few, . . . as many a hungry man and shoeless child can testify." The second quotation is from the *Cleveland Workman*, and is taken by that paper from one of its "exchanges." "There are men in this region who are now being compelled to leave their homes, their families, and their friends, and seek employment elsewhere, — men who have given their time and influence for the benefit of the community in which they reside. . . . They have been exiled from their pleasant associations here by the infamous black list." A peculiarly cruel case is told in the same paper. A man of seventy had left his old wife in Sedalia, Mo. (where he had been working for many years), because he was discharged, and walked five hundred miles to a place in Illinois where a new railway was building, but the black list followed him and at last accounts he was penniless and without work.

The iron-clad oath is an agreement to do or not to do certain things as a condition of employment; generally not to join a labor organization. The following is the form of

one of these oaths.[1] "I, A. B., hereby agree to work for C. D. at my trade at the regular established prices . . . withdrawing from the Knights of Labor, and ignoring all outside parties, committees, and trade or labor associations, and also agree not to connect myself with the Knights of Labor or any similar organization, or to join in any meeting or procession of any such organizations while in the employ of said C. D."

The President of the Congregational Club of New York, himself a man of wealth and a large employer of labor, publicly characterized the iron-clad oath not long ago as the sure and certain beginning of a system of white slavery.

"The lack of any education of those children employed in the factories in tender years, the destruction of family life caused by the employment of women, and the social separation of the laborers from other classes destroyed civilized habits of life and thought among the laborers. A strange and special range of ideas sprang up among working men thrown together in great masses in industrial centres and in a state of subjection to their employers. There arose two nations within the same nation, the one the ruling nation, the other the ruled; the one possessing a high culture in which the other did not participate; the one, the ruling, fearing the ruled, while the ruled hated the ruling nation; two nations whose interests and ideas were so different that in spite of the common language they no longer understood each other."

It may be that this separation has not gone so far with

[1] I wish to avoid useless personalities, and do not mention any names. In other places I pursue the same course; but I think that there is abundance of testimony to establish all that is said in this book, and that it is not inaccessible to those who desire to know the truth.

us as it went at one time in England and Germany and France; but now it is proceeding more rapidly here than elsewhere. In England, and to a less degree in Germany, brave men of exalted natures have thrown themselves into the breach, and in spite of slander, obloquy, and social persecution, have persisted in their efforts until they have brought the two nations nearer together, and have helped to maintain the unity of civilization; with us, comparatively few have realized their duty in this matter, and it is doubtful if history records any more rapid social movement than this ominous separation of the American people into two nations. Already they scarcely understand each other even when they speak the same language; already there are two public opinions supported respectively by a partisan capitalistic press and a partisan labor press; already there begins a class struggle for political supremacy; already religious lines are becoming, have become to an alarming extent in our great cities, social lines, and there is a wide-spread feeling among the working classes that the church of their employers cannot be the church for them, that the God of the rich is no God whom they can worship.

Nothing of graver import has ever befallen this people of the United States. Unless powerful forces calculated to keep alive the unity of civilization among us can be brought into action, our future downfall will be inevitable. The policeman's club, the prowling detective's doubtful services, the soldier's rifle, the careless bullet of hired mercenaries, exceptional laws, novel judicial procedure, and new and strained interpretations of the law, — all these are not the unifying, life-giving forces which this land of ours needs. Our country's best, the purest and noblest and grandest men and women of our time, must avert the danger; and if it requires a sacrifice of themselves, a Christian

people can find an historical example in the person of their Lord who left the society, not of the rich and cultured of earth, but of the angels in heaven, to live the life of a humble mechanic at a time when that life was despised with a scorn strange and unknown in our day, that he might supply a bond of union not merely between God and man, but between man and man; for did not he pray for all his followers in all time "that they all may be one, as thou Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be one in us . . . that they may be made perfect in one."

The disadvantages under which those are placed who live by the sale of the commodity labor have been briefly examined. It remains to show the manner in which trades-unions and labor organizations may operate to counteract these economic evils.

The labor organizations enable the laborer to withhold his commodity temporarily from the market, and to wait for more satisfactory conditions of service than it is possible for him to secure when he is obliged to offer it unconditionally. They further enable him to gain the advantages of an increased demand for his commodity, to bring about a more satisfactory relation than would otherwise be possible between the supply and the demand for labor, and also to exercise an influence upon the supply in the future market. These organizations are calculated to do away with the injurious consequences of the peculiarities of labor as a commodity to be sold, and "through them labor for the first time becomes really a commodity, and the laborer a man."

The trades-unions, and other agencies of the labor movement, such as the labor press, assist the laborer to find the best market for his commodity; and as the best market usually means the most productive market considered from a politico-economic standpoint, this is of benefit to society

as a whole. There are several ways in which this is done. The organs of the trades-unions and other labor newspapers, publish statistics concerning the state of trade in various localities. Laborers are informed, for example, that there is plenty of work for printers in Boston, but little in New York; that the building trades are rather active in Baltimore, but dull in Richmond. The *Workman*[1] of Cleveland, Ohio, formerly published a "Cleveland Labor Market Report," giving the hours of work, the pay, the state of the market, whether active or dull, etc., for the various trades in the city. It seems to have abandoned this excellent plan, but some twenty labor papers have formed an Associated Labor Press, and each paper furnishes all the others with labor items gathered in its own locality. This idea of labor-market reports is certain to have a further and a beneficial development in the future. Employers also engage employees through the various labor organizations. When a "boss" in Baltimore desires bricklayers, he sends a notice to the hall of the Bricklayers' Union, and it is written on the blackboard where it can be seen by those who want work. In the same way employers engage men through the Granite Cutters' National Union. Before me lies an advertisement which I found posted up in the headquarters of that union in Philadelphia. It reads as follows: —

"WANTED.

FIFTY GOOD GRANITE CUTTERS WANTED IMMEDIATELY AT GRANITEVILLE, MO. APPLY TO THE GRANITEVILLE GRANITE CO., GRANITEVILLE, IRON COUNTY, MISSOURI."

[1] This newspaper, by the way, is one of the best representatives of the labor press. It is edited by a graduate of Amherst College, who originally intended to go to China as a missionary, but was prevented by a physical infirmity. He evidently believes that he has found a good missionary field in this country. I understand he derives his livelihood from the practice of medicine.

The labor organizations further render it easy for the artisan or mechanic in a new city to form useful connections with those pursuing the same trade. But these associations of laborers aid them in finding a market for their commodity in a still more direct manner. They assist laborers to go in search of work with gifts and loans of money. Members of the Cigar Makers' International Union, for example, received $19,722.60 during the fiscal year ending November, 1882, for this purpose. This benefit paid, consisted of railway fare from town to town, and of fifty cents for meals in each place.

When the demand for labor falls, it is the practice of the older, stronger unions not to allow their members to work below the usual rate of wages, and this is one of the chief means to maintain the standard of life among laborers — a matter of vital importance in the opinion of political economists. If there is a decreased demand, all would not find employment at reduced wages; but, as has already been seen, one reduction would simply give rise to another. The labor organizations prefer, therefore, to support their members until the labor market improves, or to work fewer hours each day rather than to work at reduced wages.[1] When the labor market improves, it is not necessary to struggle for the old rates, but those who were out of work step into their former places. On the other hand, there is a tendency — and a wise one — in the older regions of trades-unions where they have fought their preliminary battles, have secured recognition, and thus opportunity for a normal development, not to ask for an increase of wages with every temporary improvement in business, but rather to use it to

[1] This applies more particularly to English trades-unions. Ours are not yet so strong in financial resources, nor have they so fixed a policy, but the tendency is the same All over the world — the modern civilized world — labor organizations move in the same general direction.

secure other concessions, and to ask for higher wages only at comparatively rare intervals. Their aim is to secure the conditions of a slow, sure, and steady growth.

If there is a permanent decrease in demand for labor, the tactics of the trades-unions must be changed. Laborers are assisted to move to new regions; in Europe they are helped to emigrate. The future market is further influenced by the regulation of apprenticeship. "The first object of the limitation of the number of apprentices is to prevent the displacement of journeymen by apprentices who in turn would be discharged as soon as they had learned the trade, to make way for a new army of apprentices.[1] But the limitation of the labor supply in the future is necessarily connected with this, and that is a conscious aim of the unions. There can be no objection to this limitation from the standpoint of right and law so long as the laborers use no other means to enforce their regulations than the refusal to work with more than a certain number of apprentices. But from the standpoint of political economy, which demands that a man should proportion the supply of his commodity to the demand, and holds him responsible for an excess of supply, the laborers not only have the right to do this, but they are even under moral obligations to do it."

Finally, the trades-unions educate the laborers to prudence in marriage. They accustom their members to over-

[1] As early as 1350 the guild masters attempted to injure the journeymen by the employment of an undue number of apprentices; and this has ever since been a device of unscrupulous employers who desire unemployed men about them so as to get a tighter grip on their employees. While it is doubtless true that the majority of employers have ever repudiated such methods, there have always been so many employers who have not scorned such unworthy practices, that the trades-unions have in self-defence been forced to take an attitude which is frequently misunderstood.

look the field of labor, to pass judgment on the prospect of satisfactory remuneration for their commodity in the future; they help them to secure higher wages than would otherwise be possible, so that they have something to lose; they awaken in them a regard for the welfare of others, and cultivate a feeling of duty with respect to their conduct toward others; finally, the limitation of the number of apprentices is a guarantee — imperfect, to be sure, still a guarantee of some value — that those who are prudent and restrain their desires will reap the benefit of their sacrifices. "Experience teaches that the trades-unionists of England are more prudent in regard to marriage than the unskilled laborers who belong to no organizations."

Topics which will find treatment in the two following chapters have an important bearing on the economic value of labor organizations. This is the case in particular with arbitration and the character of these various societies as mutual aid associations. The educational value of labor organization is an allied topic; and indeed there is nothing which affects them in any way which might not be considered in the present chapter, so closely connected with one another are all the various phases of our social and industrial life. The fact has been frequently remarked, that the entire life of man in society is one; yet for the sake of convenience we divide and subdivide it by more or less arbitrary lines.

John Stuart Mill recognized the economic value of labor organizations at an early date, and assigned them an important place in our industrial organism. This is the more surprising as the now antiquated theory of the wages-fund, in which he himself believed when he wrote the words I am about to quote, blinded most political economists to the true functions of labor organizations, and even led him to underrate their power for good.

"I do not hesitate," writes Mill in his 'Political Economy,'[1] "to say that associations of laborers, of a nature similar to trades-unions, far from being a hindrance to a free market for labor, are the necessary instrumentality of that free market, the indispensable means of making the sellers of labor to take due care of their own interests under a system of competition. There is an ulterior consideration of much importance, to which attention was for the first time drawn by Professor Fawcett in an article in the *Westminster Review*. Experience has at length enabled the more intelligent trades to take a tolerably correct measure of the circumstances on which the success of a strike for an advance of wages depends. The workmen are now nearly as well informed as the master, of the state of the market for his commodities; they can calculate his gains and his expenses; they know when his trade is or is not prosperous, and only when it is, are they ever again likely to strike for higher wages; which wages their known readiness to strike makes their employers for the most part willing to concede. The tendency, therefore, of this state of things is to make a rise of wages in any particular trade, usually consequent upon a rise of profits, which, as Mr. Fawcett observes, is a commencement of that regular participation of the laborers in the profits derived from their labor, every tendency to which, for the reasons stated in a previous chapter, it is so important to encourage, since to it we have chiefly to look for any radical improvement in the social and economical relations between labor and capital. Strikes, therefore, and the trade societies which render strikes possible, are for these various reasons not a mischievous, but, on the contrary, a valuable part of the existing machinery of society."

[1] Book V., chapter X., section 5.

CHAPTER V.

THE EDUCATIONAL VALUE OF LABOR ORGANIZATIONS.

THE propositions which I wish to prove and to illustrate, in so far as this can be done in a single chapter, may be expressed somewhat as follows: To-day the labor organizations of America are playing a *rôle* in the history of civilization, the importance of which can be scarcely overestimated; for they are among the foremost of our educational agencies, ranking next to our churches and public schools in their influence upon the culture of the masses. They counteract to a large extent the evil and stupefying influences of the division of labor in our modern system of production; finally they reach and elevate large classes mentally, morally, and spiritually, who can be moved in no other manner. It is first necessary for me to state what I understand by education. I do not mean simply what can be learned out of books; still less what is acquired at schools. I mean something far larger, which includes both books and schools, and much besides; I mean what the Germans might perhaps express by *Bildung*, — the entire development of a man in all his relations, social, individual, religious, ethical, and political. Whatever in trades-unions or labor organizations in any way makes men larger men, educates them in the truest sense, and comes within the scope of this chapter on the educational value of trades-unions and labor organizations. It is certain that laborers have been strongly impressed with the

educational value of organizations, and have united with that aim directly in view from the earliest period of their existence. The ancient guilds show strongly marked educational characteristics, as do the friendly societies of one kind and another which prepared the way for the trades-unions. The Workingmen's Institute of Brighton, England, formed in 1848, serves as an illustration of the general truth. It was intended to provide the workingmen of that town with the means of mental and of moral improvement. Mental improvement was, in the publications of the Institute, separated into two divisions, — the information of the intellect and the elevation of the taste. It was, therefore, very appropriate for Rev. Frederick W. Robertson to choose "Education" as the subject of the opening address which he was invited to deliver before the Institute.

At a still earlier date, education was valued by the working classes in the United States, and they repudiated with some bitterness the idea that mental cultivation would injure those in their walk of life. The New England Association of Farmers, Mechanics, and other Workingmen, in their address to workingmen, issued in 1832, briefly recapitulated the evils for which a remedy was sought; and among these evils, as will be remembered from a previous chapter, were the following: "An illiberal opinion of the worth and rights of the laboring classes; an unjust estimation of their moral, intellectual, and physical powers; an unwise misapprehension of the effects which would result from the *cultivation of their minds* and the improvement of their condition."

It should further be borne in mind that those in this country who were known as friends of the workingmen were at the same time active in educational movements. Mention has already been made of Horace Mann, William Ellery Channing, and Robert Rantoul, and it is worthy of notice

that the Swiss educational reformer, Pestalozzi, is esteemed highly, even by the radicals, among organized laborers.[1] It is instructive to look through Mr. Channing's writings on the labor problem, as they indicate the drift of reform and of constructive effort at this early period, — and we may well say early period, for fifty years ago is a very early period in the labor movement, and so rapid is the progress of events, that even twenty years ago might be called an early period. Mr. Channing's most celebrated addresses on social topics were entitled, "Self-Culture," and "On the Elevation of the Laboring Classes," — self-culture, education, you observe. And now let us see what Mr. Channing had to say under the more general head of elevation of the laboring classes. The positive part of his argument is summed up by himself in these words, "I was obliged by my narrow limits to confine myself chiefly to the consideration of the intellectual elevation which the laborer is to propose; though in treating this topic, I showed the moral, religious, social improvements which enter into his true dignity. I observed that the laborer was to be a student, a thinker, an intellectual man as well as a laborer."

The efforts of the early friends of labor were largely, perhaps chiefly, directed to public schools as an educational agency, and there can be no doubt that our public-school system is in part the result of labor agitation. Our whole educational system in the United States is more largely due to the desire to benefit the masses than to any other single cause. At every period in our history, public school questions have been labor questions or labor measures. And when I say this, I do not exclude our universities. What, then, has the labor movement brought us? I

[1] The *New Yorker Volksgeitung* calls him "the first social democrat." See *Wochenblatt*, 7th November, 1885.

reply first of all: it has been one of the chief causes which have brought us a public-school system, — a public-school system which has already accomplished incalculable good, and promises greater benefits in the future, as it is further developed. But our public-school system is attacked by men whose political wisdom and sense of social justice I prefer not to characterize in terms which would seem to me fitting. Where shall we find guardians against assaults on our public schools? Where shall we find those who will not only protect what we have, but help us forward in new achievements in education, particularly by means of public schools. To both questions I reply, in our labor organizations. All over the world labor organizations are supporting and bearing forward every popular educational movement. Let me take an illustration from our own South, where such a force as I have been describing is precisely what is needed. There is in Tennessee a State organization of trades-unions and labor societies, called the State Labor Union, which adopted the following resolutions at its annual meeting, held in the fall of 1885. "Resolved, That, as the question of education is of vital importance to us and the whole people, we request our representatives in Congress to use their influence in securing national aid to education.

"Resolved, That we demand such revision of the public-school system of the State as will make possible the building of comfortable schoolhouses and the maintenance of schools in each district at least seven months in the year. That none but competent teachers be employed, and that they be paid a salary equal to the importance of their work as public educators." It is my opinion that those in Congress and out of Congress who have favored the Blair Bill would have been more likely to succeed in their endeavor if

they had ere this sought the co-operation of the masses as represented in our labor organizations.[1]

We have heard much of the educational value of our free political institutions, for it is a favorite theme with writers on political science, and it has been said that therein lay their chief value rather than in the establishment of a better government. Labor organizations are beneficial in the same way, and I am much inclined to think to a higher degree among those who belong to them. They are schools of political science. Men meet in them and discuss questions of politics and economics in order to ascertain their bearing on the interests of the masses. They feel that their posi-

[1] Even those who oppose the Blair Bill — and there are sincere friends of public schools among them — may rejoice in the sentiments which this reveals. I know that one occasionally hears sneering remarks about high schools and colleges, uttered by workingmen and their leaders. This found illustration recently when an editor of a labor paper condemned the authorities of a Western city because they paid the teachers in the high school fifty dollars a month, which, it was urged, was more than an honest mechanic could earn; such utterances, however, are rarely heard, and I am inclined to think less frequently heard than formerly. It is not often that those who speak thus, voice the real sentiments of the men who bear forward the labor movement, and give direction and tone to it. One hears such remarks from demagogues, but they appeal chiefly, so far as my observation goes, to those who are above the laboring class in economic rank, to the little *bourgeoisie*, as the French would say, the class of small traders and producers. Take my own city as an illustration: I believe those most inclined to disparage the Johns Hopkins University are found among the employers on a small scale, the men with corner groceries, the prosperous retail liquor-dealers, the owners of two or three little houses acquired by toil so unremitting that no time has been left for the cultivation of the higher faculties; also among others possessed of still larger fortunes who have recently acquired them, and with them that love of money which renders them impenetrable to all ideas not in some way connected with the "almighty dollar."

tion in life is not what they would have it, and desiring to improve themselves they seek to ascertain what course they can take as citizens of a free republic to advance the welfare of the people. This involves a wide range of topics, and leads the more active spirits among them to increase their fund of information and sharpen their intellects by the study of the works of economists and publicists. I know a poor mechanic in Detroit who, unable to buy new books, has, as he expresses it, "nosed around old book-stores" and collected a library of three hundred volumes. "Yet," writes he, "I had to take the money from bodily comforts and put it into books." The Journeymen Bricklayers' Union of Baltimore has expended one thousand dollars on a library which includes such books as "Shakespeare," "Chambers' Encyclopædia," "Dickens" and "Bulwer" complete, the Waverley novels, Scharf's "History of Maryland," and "Webster's Unabridged Dictionary." In fact, I can say that I was astonished on inspection to find the excellent selection which these artisans had made, for they had bought all the books themselves, having persistently refused to receive presents. I could wish that the young ladies in our best society were always as judicious in the choice of books. With annual dues of four dollars, these bricklayers impose a yearly tax of one dollar on each member for the support of the library. The desire to do something to ameliorate the condition of the masses, and the belief that a way has been found to accomplish this, is a source of new vigor and life to many who are weary and heavy-laden. A Baltimore physician was in my office a short time ago, who told me that a few years before he scarcely felt that life was worth living; but when he was in the depths he chanced to read Henry George's "Progress and Poverty," which filled him with new hope, and had proved a source of satisfaction ever since.

He now felt there was work in the world worthy of a man because it might result in material improvement in the lot of mankind. Now, one may object to Henry George's teachings, — as I do most decidedly, — and yet rejoice at the good which his works are doing in stimulating the thoughts and promoting the generous aspirations of the people. It would, indeed, not be an easy matter to over-estimate the educational value of that one work "Progress and Poverty." A not inconsiderable part of the wholesome growth of interest in economics is due to its publication.

Let me give you another illustration of what the labor agitation is doing for the intellectual training of many workingmen. When in C——, in December last, it suddenly entered my mind that I had received a letter of inquiry about my "Recent American Socialism" — from a barber of that city, and as I crossed S—— Street it came to me that his place of business was No. — S—— Street, and his name Joseph ——. So I sought out the socialistic or rather anarchistic barber. If this were a story, it would be necessary to describe the shop as low and dingy, and full of the smoke of vile tobacco. I should further be obliged to comment on a general air of unthrift emphasized by the indolent appearance and untidy clothing of the laborer who indulged in speculations of an anarchist's paradise. Truth, however, compels me to state that the general appearance of the shop impressed me with a sense of such prosperity as is represented by a snug little balance at a banker's, while I could find no fault with the manner in which the barber kept either himself or his shop. The man is a German, but speaks English pretty well, and has translated from the German into the English, and publishes translations in the papers occasionally. I have received two or three articles translated by him from Lassalle. I learned from him —

it was told in an apologetic kind of manner — that he was able to do better "in this line some time ago," but that of late his skill in translation into English is not what it was, because he has been giving so much attention to the Spanish language.

In addition to questions of public policy, the laborers in their organizations are bound to consider what they can do collectively and individually as laborers apart from government, to improve their situation. All this keeps a whole multitude of questions before every labor society, and as many minds involve many opinions, there is abundant opportunity for vigorous debate. It ought not to be necessary to add that this is excellent training in a practical school of politics. Again, the trades-unions and labor organizations are popular schools of oratory in which workingmen learn to express their thoughts and to address a public audience, and that often with dignity and composure, while their press furnishes opportunity for the development of any latent literary talent among them. I will quote the testimony of several trades-unionists on this point, the educational value of their societies, that it may be seen how different laborers replied to the question, "Has your membership in any trades-union, or workingmen's or workingwomen's society, made you more skilful and useful in your work or profited you educationally, morally, or socially, and how has it affected the habits of members in regard to temperance?" and I may say here that I am glad to give the exact words of the workingmen, and thus let them tell their own story.[1]

[1] The testimony is taken from the first Report of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor. The replies are given by numbers, as many laborers who appeared before the bureau or sent answers to questions, feared that they would lose their positions if their names should become known.

No. 38: "The association with which I am connected has not been in existence long, but for the time there has been a marked change made in the condition of the members who attend regularly, both mentally and socially."

No. 33: "I am a member of a Labor Reform Club . . . Connection with such societies tends to elevate the mind in every particular."

No. 20, — a bootmaker: "The influence of the Crispin order has had the effect to benefit the morals, health, wealth, and happiness of its members."

No. 18: "The trade-union has profited me educationally and socially."

No. 72, — sub-overseer of weaving: "I belong to the Ten-Hour League. It has been useful to me only in a general way thus far, as aiding my general culture."

These replies are typical. The Knights of Labor and other labor organizations are beginning to turn their attention more than heretofore to the formation of libraries for their members. Something has been done in this direction, and more will be done in the future. The following quotation from the *Labor Record*[1] of Williamsport, Pa., is an indication of the spirit at work among the Knights of Labor. "At the present time, when workingmen are taking a more active part in public affairs than ever before in the history of the nation, it is necessary to the proper exercise of the organized power they possess that they become acquainted with the fundamental principles upon which all legislation should be based. Realizing this, and with a view of supplying such information, the Knights of Labor of this city have started a library of works on economical subjects, and for which they respectfully solicit contributions of all suitable works. Contributions will be received at this office."

[1] Issue of April 17, 1886.

The strongest of the organizations which have come under our notice, the Patrons of Husbandry, has done perhaps as much as any other to advance the cause of education among its members.

A few quotations will show how largely educational in its character has been the work of the Patrons of Husbandry, and the first of them will be taken from an address by Hon. D. Wyatt, of Aiken, South Carolina, on "The Grange, its Origin, Progress, and Educational Purposes." "Postmasters from all the States informed us that the Order had greatly increased the bulk of their mails. And one said that 'there are now thirty newspapers taken at this office, whilst there was but one taken before the establishment of the Grange in this vicinity.' And one clergyman wrote that, 'Since the introduction of the Grange I have seen a remarkable change in the walk and conversation of my flock; they are more careful in their dress and general appearance, and are reading more.' From every quarter came the Grange call for books, and much money was invested for select libraries for Granges in many of the States."

The following quotations are from the "Journal of Proceedings" for 1882: "We aim to make the daily lives of men and women better and nobler and truer and holier and happier; to encourage education, social and moral culture."

"All Grange meetings should be enlivened with singing and music, and time given for social recreation. . . . The greetings of brothers and sisters should be so cordial that the humblest members, though poor, and burdened with cares, should be made to feel and know that they are not doomed to toil, through weary life, isolated and alone, without friends, sympathy, society, or hope of advancement, but that they are members of a great brotherhood."

The following are from the "Journal" for 1885. The

"Master" from Pennsylvania reports: "In many of the older Granges libraries have been started." From Wisconsin comes the similar report, "A majority (of the granges) own halls, and several have fine libraries."

These quotations might be multiplied *ad libitum*. In the next place, labor organizations are perhaps the chief power, in this country, making for temperance. While not prohibitionist organizations,[1] — this indeed could hardly be expected, — they are scarcely with exception temperance societies, nor is it difficult to see how this has come about. Meeting together, they naturally discuss their sources of weakness and strength. They inquire how it is that brother A. has a cottage all paid for, while brother B. is always out at the heels; how it is that C.'s wife has a deposit at the savings bank, and a beaming countenance, while D.'s wife, poor thing, is sad, dejected, and always in want; how it is that a certain society is composed of manly, independent fellows, capable of holding their own in every conflict with their employer, while another local union is composed of weak and submissive cravens. It is not surprising that the evils of intemperance should thus be frequently brought to their notice; and, as the labor unions are a vast army under the restraints of discipline, a great force is brought to bear on them to urge them to temperance in all things, and this is likely to have greater weight because it comes, not from professional temperance advocates, but has sprung up

[1] Yet the number of teetotalers among them is surprising when one remembers that our laboring classes are chiefly foreigners, or born of foreign parents, and that total abstinence is scarcely known outside of America. It is not a very safe thing for a man to draw a conclusion in a matter like this from his own limited observations; but I am inclined to think that there are quite as many total abstainers among the laborers as among our higher social classes.

spontaneously in their own ranks. I will give a few illustrations. No one may be a member of the Knights of Labor who is in any way connected with the sale of intoxicating liquors. Section 1. of Article XXIII. of the Constitution of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen of North America reads as follows: "Any member dealing in, or in any way connected with, the sale of intoxicating liquors, shall, unless he withdraws, be expelled. Any member found guilty of drunkenness shall be suspended for the first offence. A repetition shall be punished by expulsion; and under no circumstances shall a member so expelled be re-instated before the lapse of one year."

Window Glass Workers' Assembly, No. 300, has adopted this rule: "Any member causing this place to stand idle on account of drink shall be fined as follows. First offence, $5. Each subsequent offence, $10. . . . Any member losing work through drink shall for the first offence be fined $1, and reprimanded in open meeting of the Preceptory; for the second offence, $2.50; and for each subsequent offence shall be fined $5."

Among the fines imposed by the Journeymen Bricklayers' Protective Association of Philadelphia are the following: "For attending a meeting in an intoxicated condition, $1; and for attending a funeral in such a condition, $5." A first floor in their hall on Market Street was vacant when I visited the place. A liquor dealer had offered them a large rental for it, but they declared that they would under no circumstances allow intoxicating drinks to be sold in the building.

It is noteworthy that the fine is higher when the works are stopped and the employer injured than when a man simply injures himself. The numerous speakers before labor audiences frequently emphasize the advantages of temper-

ance, and strong language is used by those who are called in disparagement "professional agitators." At the last annual convention of the Knights of Labor, the General Assembly, as they call it, Mr. Powderly, the general master-workman, or head of the order, said, "If a man given to the use of strong drink and a serpent applied for admission to the order, I would vote for the serpent in preference to the drunkard." And Mr. Trevellick, or Dick Trevellick, as he is popularly called, in an address to the laborers, shouts, "Stop your cursed drinking!" In a "Notice," calling a meeting of the "mule-spinners of New Bedford," occurs this sentence: "We are pleased to see a large number of our trade embracing sobriety; it is very inconsistent for us to complain about the tyranny of corporations and the hardships we have to endure while we submit to be slaves to a bad and injurious habit." "But," a sincere reader may interpose, "the practice of the working classes does not seem to harmonize with their principles, for I have always supposed intemperance to be their peculiar curse. They do not seem to have made much progress in temperance."

Many think this, but only those who are not acquainted with the facts of the case; for when these are borne in mind, the relatively small amount of intemperance among American workingmen becomes a source of astonishment.

First, we should never forget the temptation to intemperance which lies in the character of the toil of many laborers. Long hours are regarded by competent anthorities as a cause which predisposes to the use of intoxicants. Another equally strong provocation may be found in exposure to the sudden and severe variations of our climate. Take the case of street-car drivers, exposed one season to a temperature 100 degrees above zero, and in another to one, ten, fifteen, and even twenty degrees below zero.

The strain of work by the side of rapidly moving machines on the nervous system is another predisposing cause to intemperance which has attracted serious attention. Mr. Robert Howard, the secretary of the Mule Spinners' Organization, and senator in the Legislature of Massachusetts, gave this testimony about the spinners in Fall River before the Blair Committee of the United States Senate:[1] "It is dreadful to see those girls, stripped almost to the skin, wearing only a kind of loose wrapper, and running like a race-horse from the beginning to the end of the day; and I can perceive that it is bringing about both a moral and physical decay in them. . . . I must say that I have noticed that the hard, slavish, overwork is driving these girls into the saloons after they leave the mills in the evenings; and you might as well try to deprive them of their suppers; after they leave the mills, you will see them going into the saloons, looking scared and ashamed, and trying to go in without any one seeing them, — good respectable girls, too; but they come out so tired and so thirsty and so exhausted, especially in the summer months, from working along steadily from hour to hour, and breathing the noxious effluvia from the grease, and other ingredients that are used in the mills; and they are so exhausted when the time comes to quit, that you will find all their thoughts are concentrated on something to drink to allay their thirst. . . . You may know, as well as I can tell you, how a man must feel in this hot weather, following such an occupation as that. He just feels no manhood about him. He can only take a glass of beer to stimulate him, to give him a little appetite so that he may eat, in order to be able to go through his daily drudgery. . . . Drinking is most prevalent among the working people where the hours of labor are long."

[1] See Report, Vol. I. pp. 647–649.

Once more it must be remembered that many of our working people have been brought up in Europe to look upon the use of stimulants as much a matter of course as tea or coffee in this country; and they do not realize that what is comparatively harmless in the climate of Europe may be ruinous in ours.

The low and degraded character of the worst class of emigrants should not be forgotten. If Europe sends us splendid men and women, she also sends us her scum to degrade our working people. Take, for example, a large proportion of those laborers brought into our country under contract contrary to the law, but with the full knowledge of those authorities whose duty it is to enforce the law.

When I consider all these circumstances, the temperance of the masses in America is a marvel to me. Much, too much, remains to be done in the field of temperance reform, but let us not fail to give credit to those who have already accomplished great things. Have not newspapers, by no means too friendly to laborers, again and again had occasion to remark the almost uniform temperance of laborers in their parades, demonstrations, and appearances before the public in strikes? There can be no doubt about this; it has occurred in all parts of the country.

The locomotive engineers furnish another illustration. Formerly they were so much given to intoxication, that it was not unusual to see in their cab a kind of iron contrivance to help them to hold on when "tipsy." Now that has disappeared; they are a temperate body of men, and to-day travel in the United States is safer than it would be had not the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers been formed. This is one example of many which I could give. I will close this topic with a characteristic quotation from *The Trades Union*, of Atchison, Kansas. "The most deadly

blow ever given to King Alcohol is in that declaration of the Knights of Labor which proscribes any liquor dealer for membership in the Order. It is doing more to put an end to drunkenness, and to bring the rum traffic under the ban, than all the laws of Kansas or speeches of St. John ever did."

There are many remaining points of importance, but I shall be obliged to pass over them hastily; while it will be necessary to omit altogether some noteworthy aspects of our topic.

The social culture which laborers derive from their orderly gathering together is an excellent feature of the labor movement. From this point of view the trades societies appear as schools, in which true politeness and even grace of manner are taught; and on an extended tour in the summer of 1885, I must confess that I was much impressed with the courtesy and good manners of the many labor leaders I met; and it may be well to state that these labor leaders, ordinarily considered idle demagogues, were all mechanics, — mechanics chosen by other mechanics to represent them. A personal experience is of some importance in this connection. Last summer I visited the Central Labor Union of New York, and was pleased to observe that when one member allowed himself the use of the word "damned," to express his indignation, there instantly arose from various parts of the hall, cries of "I object to that language!" The speaker was called to order by the Chairman, and told that profanity was against their rules. The bricklayers of Philadelphia impose a fine of fifty cents for using profane language.[1] Great advance will still be made along this line of polite manners in the future.

[1] How many rich men's clubs exclude the use of intoxicants, and impose fines for profanity?

Social gatherings bring laborers and their families out of their isolation, and furnish them with agreeable and congenial companionship. One of the laborers in the Milwaukee Trades Assembly used these words in describing the social advantages which that union had brought him: "After working more than twelve years in this city, five years ago I hardly knew any craftsmen except those working with me in the same shop. To-day I am personally acquainted with four-fifths of all the men engaged at my trade, and everybody seems to know me. This fact I appreciate more than almost anything connected with my social position."

The laboring classes, through their unions, are learning discipline, self-restraint, and the methods of united action, and are also discovering whom they can trust, finding out the necessity of uniting great confidence in leaders with strict control of them, and with the aid of their press are building up a great market for the products of co-operative enterprise.

Thus the labor movement is preparing the way for that goal which has for many years been the ideal of the best thinkers on labor problems, — the union of capital and labor in the same hands, in grand, wide-reaching, co-operative enterprises, which shall embrace the masses. Formerly it was an argument in favor of slavery that in that way only could labor and capital be united in the same hands and disastrous conflicts be prevented; but up from the people there comes a voice, crying, "We will show you a more excellent way." The movement has already begun, — co-operative enterprises, productive and distributive, are springing up in every part of the land. Co-operation is urged by a united labor press, and labor societies set it before the masses as an ultimate goal. One of the objects of the

Knights of Labor is stated thus in their official declaration: "To establish co-operative institutions, such as will tend to supersede the wage system by the introduction of a co-operative industrial system." One of the organs of the artisan class, *The American Glass Worker*, states one of its objects as follows: "The establishment of co-operative funds, with a view of each union finally engaging in co-operative enterprises, productive and distributive, disposing of the products, and supplying, at first cost, every article consumed by its members." In another issue of the same paper, I find these words, at the head of an article on co-operation: "Co-operation must be the result of our labor organizations."

The disastrous termination of most co-operative enterprises in the past in the United States is a well-known fact, but the failure has not been by any means universal, and a state of things is being built up, where the causes of failure will disappear after a time; also, alas, after many more failures.

But our picture will not be complete until we have shown the still wider ethical significance of the labor-movement. First, there is rational ground to hope that it will in the end introduce a higher tone into our political life, though it has scarcely done so up to the present time. The labor organizations have certain practical aims in politics, often very definite, and they will hereafter attempt to gain these by sending honest men to our legislatures to represent them. Year by year they are becoming increasingly restive under the attempted control of the professional politician; in many cases they have entirely emancipated themselves from party prejudice, and have already learned that only sharp, vigorous, honest, and independent political action can ever bring them as a class anything worth having. There is said to be quite a strong feeling among the Knights of Labor in favor

of civil service reform; and it can never gain a firm foothold in this country until it is supported by a strong popular sentiment. Second, it is worthy of notice that those in the organizations call one another brother and sister, and that many of the unions are called brotherhoods; as, for example, The Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen of North America, The Grand International Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, The Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America.

The labor movement, as the facts would indicate, is the strongest force outside the Christian Church making for the practical recognition of human brotherhood: and it is noteworthy that, at a time when the churches have generally discarded brother and sister as a customary form of address, the trades-unions and labor organizations have adopted the habit. And it is not a mere form. It is shown in good offices and sacrifices for one another in a thousand ways every day, and it is not confined to those of one nation. It reaches over the civilized world; and the word international as a part of the title of many unions, and the fact that their membership is international, are quite as significant as they appear to be at first sight. Since the labor movement became powerful, the laborers of Germany, France, America, and England, and of other countries, too, feel that they are members of one great family, and that they must work together for their complete emancipation. The most remarkable illustration of the internationalism of the labor movement was the meeting of representatives of the glass-workers of six nations, in Pittsburgh, in July, 1885, to form the Universal Federation of Glass Workers. In the preamble, it is stated to be their purpose "To extend their Federation to all sections of the globe, until its membership shall embrace every man engaged in our trades."

The laborers are the most thorough-going peace-men to be found, and I am often inclined to think that they are the only large class who really and truly desire peace between nations, the abandonment of armies, the conversion of spears into pruning-hooks, and swords into ploughshares. At the time of the Franco-German war, German laborers alone protested against the slaughter of their French brothers; at the beginning of our late war, American laborers met in convention, to protest against hostilities between the sections; and in the fall of 1885 the veterans of the Union and Confederate armies among the Knights of Labor formed an organization called The Gray and the Blue of the Knights of Labor, and took the motto, "Capital divided, labor unites us." Its object, says *John Swinton's Paper*, "is to teach the toilers who make up the armies of the world, that in peace, not in war, is the worker's emancipation." I sincerely believe that the time is not so far distant as one might think, when organized labor will force the governments of earth to substitute arbitration for war, will compel them to live peaceably, each with the other, to devote their forces to the fruitful pursuit of art, industry, and science, and in a vast international parliament to lay the foundations of a federated world state. But even this is not the whole of their high mission of peace; for they are, in our South, bringing about an amicable understanding between black and white, since it is necessary that they should unite and act in harmony to accomplish their common ends. Thus they bring an elevating influence to bear upon the more ignorant blacks, and help to solve the vexed problem of race in the United States. Strange, is it not? that the despised trades-union and labor organizations should have been chosen to perform this high duty of conciliation! But hath not God ever called the lowly to the most exalted missions, and hath he not ever called the foolish to confound the wise?

When we consider, then, the educational value of trades-unions and labor organizations, and remember that this does not exhaust the whole of their benefit, we cannot be greatly surprised that Thorold Rogers, the most careful student of English labor, should even exaggerate their importance and wish to restrict the right of suffrage so as to include only those who belong to some organization. His words are as follows : —

"Three processes have been adopted by the working classes, each of which has had a vast, and should have an increasing, influence in bettering the condition of labor and making the problem of dealing with individual distress, however caused, easier and readier. They should be viewed by statesmen with unqualified favor, and be treated by workingmen as the instruments by which they can regain and consolidate the best interests of labor. They are trades-unionism, or, as I prefer to call it, labor partnership ; co-operation, or the combination in the same individuals of the function of labor and capital ; and benefit associations, or the machinery of a mutual insurance society. So important do I conceive these aids to the material, intellectual, and moral elevation of the working classes to be, that I would, even at the risk of being thought reactionary, limit the privileges of citizenship, the franchise, parliamentary and local, to those, and those only, who entered into these three guilds — the guild of labor, the guild of production and trade, and the guild of mutual help. Nor do I think it extravagant to believe that were those associations rendered general, and finally universal, the social problems which distress all and alarm many would ultimately arrive at a happy solution."

CHAPTER VI.

OTHER ASPECTS OF LABOR ORGANIZATIONS.

THERE are several topics, as yet not treated, which could well fill several chapters, but it is possible to take only a glance at them, if this book is to be kept within that limit of size desirable for present purposes.

The first of these subjects which must receive at least a brief treatment, if we are to take anything like a complete survey of the field, is the weighty one of insurance. It is evident that insurance of various kinds is an indispensable condition of that economic security for the laboring classes which is so desirable for their own happiness and for the welfare of society, and which must form part of the solution of the labor problem. Savings banks, useful as they are in their own sphere, cannot provide the security which the laboring classes need; for accidents or death may befall the workingman in the beginning of his career before he has had opportunity to save a large sum, or he may die after long illness has exhausted his resources. So with other cases which might be enumerated; and it is certain that the possibilities of the savings bank, great as they are, have been exaggerated. Insurance is still more important, and when sufficiently developed may provide for nearly every contingency in the life of the laborer. The kinds of insurance needed are enumerated as follows by Professor Brentano:[1]

[1] This enumeration is quoted from my article on the Baltimore and Ohio Employees' Relief Association in *Harper's Weekly* for July 4, 1885.

1. insurance to defray expenses of education of children in case of death; 2. insurance to defray expenses of support during old age; 3. insurance to provide for burial; 4. for a period of inability to labor on account of accident or injury; 5. for a time of illness; and 6. for periods of enforced idleness, due to lack of demand for labor. Some of these can be provided satisfactorily only through labor organizations; notably is this the case with the last three kinds, for laborers alone are able to exercise the requisite control and prevent deception and fraud.

English trades-unions have done most in the direction of insurance for laborers, but American labor organizations are improving in this respect, and are already accomplishing an amount of good thereby, of which the general public knows almost nothing. The reason why the relief and benefit features of our labor organizations have not been still further developed is due to the character of our economic life. First, the migration of population has prevented their growth, for they flourish best where people are well acquainted with one another, have acquired mutual confidence, and have a strong feeling of "solidarity"; second, the rapid change in economic rank and in occupation have worked adversely. Few have been willing to look forward to the position of laborer as permanent, and the general desire has been rather to escape from it than to improve that position. People have been willing to provide for immediate want, for present contingencies, but not for more remote ones like disability due to old age. Trades-unions have not been old and stable enough to give the laborer a feeling of reasonable probability that he would receive return in a distant period for present contributions. Again, the trades-union has not been sufficiently extended so that a laborer could always continue his connection in every part

of the country. Finally, trades-unions are becoming less suitable insurance societies than formerly. With the continual danger facing artisans of degradation to the ranks of unskilled labor or a change of occupation, the need of the times is for something larger which will provide for all these contingencies; also for a great society which can transact business on a larger scale and thus at a smaller cost. Here as elsewhere the Knights of Labor, or if that should fail, some similar organization which would inevitably take its place, can well supplement the work of the trades-unions.

While we have not yet reached the point of annual congresses of all trades-unions and complete statistics which would enable us in America as in England to tell exactly what our labor organizations are doing for insurance, there are many data at hand which are valuable, and it can safely be said that the expenditures for the relief of suffering amount to millions of dollars annually, preventing thousands from the degradation which attends the receipt of public charity, and lightening effectually the burdens of the tax-payer. The Grand International Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers provides for the permanent disability or death of members by a Locomotive Engineers' Mutual Life Insurance Association. This, a special department of the Brotherhood and membership, is voluntary. The total membership on Sept. 30, 1885, was 4,252, and some time since, the sum paid out was nearly $12,000,000. The amount paid on one claim is now limited to $3,000. In addition to this, subordinate divisions extend relief to members and their families. When any brother dies, a committee is appointed "to inquire as to the pecuniary situation of the deceased," and in case of want it is the duty of the division to assist the family "by all honorable and reasonable means," and in particular the children must not be allowed to suffer or be

neglected. The care and protection are to be extended so long as needed. "Widows are to be assisted in like manner, also a sick or disabled brother."

Every one of the fifteen thousand members of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen is insured for $1,500, paid to his heirs in case of death, to himself in case of permanent disability. Since the organization of the order in December, 1873, it had in October, 1885, paid out $315,764. This sum is far from presenting an adequate idea of what the Brotherhood is doing now, for its membership was small and the relief afforded comparatively insignificant in its early years. During the month of August, 1885, it paid claims to the amount of $18,000, and in the following month to the amount of $22,500.

Since Jan. 1, 1883, the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America has paid benefits. These are now $250 in case of death or disability, and $50 in case of the death of a wife. The benefits paid during the year ending Aug. 1, 1885, amounted to $7,500. The assistance given by local unions must be added, to get a complete idea of the aid rendered, and this holds true with regard to other organizations. It is not improbable that local and voluntary assistance in the case of all the unions amounts to a greater sum than that which appears in the annual reports of the national bodies. The Philadelphia Journeymen Bricklayers' Protective Association pays a benefit of $125 on the death of a member, and $75 on the death of a wife. The accident benefit is $25. This does not seem like much to a person of means, but it saves many from a potter's grave.

The Deutsch Amerikanische Typographia pays a weekly sick-benefit of $5, which is reduced to $3 after the receipt of $300, and ceases after the receipt of $500. The death-benefit is $200 for a member, $25 for a wife; for enforced

idleness the benefit is $5 a week, but it must not exceed $60 a year. Members receive railway fare when in search of work.

The Cigar Makers' International Union pays a sick benefit of $5 a week, provided such sickness is not caused by "intemperance, debauchery, or other immoral conduct" — a condition common to nearly all the unions. The amount in sick benefits for the fiscal year ending in November, 1882, was $16,643.73. It pays a death benefit of $40, and as already stated, pays from $15,000 to $20,000 a year to aid members to secure work.

The Knights of Labor have an insurance department, and the heirs of a member of this department receive from $500 to $1,000, according to contribution. This feature of the order is new and the membership is comparatively small at present. The local assemblies aid needy members and disburse in this way from $100,000 to $200,000 annually.

The International Furniture Workers' Union insures tools, and has, besides, the usual relief and benefit features. These are typical facts, and it is needless to continue their enumeration in this place. There ought to be in every State a properly qualified official to examine accounts of all insurance associations of every kind or description, because only in this way can the insured be protected, and also because the officers themselves are rarely able to make the complicated calculations necessary to enable them to ascertain the real standing of an insurance society. A great deal has been done in England to extend the usefulness of such associations by the appointment of a Registrar of Friendly Societies to give them aid of this kind.[1]

[1] "These orders, to their great credit . . . have submitted the whole of their rates of contributions — their incomings and outgoings — to actuaries named or approved by the Registrar, and have adopted

Arbitration and strikes are important topics in any treatment of labor organizations. First, it should be known, that arbitration is impossible without labor organizations. Capital is combined and is managed by a few persons even in the largest establishments. Take the case of a railway corporation. The capital may be owned by one thousand different persons, but it is massed together and all its owners, as a rule, treat with the railway employers through a single person. Capital is one of the factors of production; labor is another, and it also must be massed together to stand on an equal footing, and this can be effected only by organization. As the thousand capitalists choose one representative, the ten thousand laborers must choose a representative of labor. To ask a single laborer, representing a ten thousandth part of the labor factor, to place himself against a man who represents all the combined capital, is as absurd as to place a boy before an express train, and expect him to stop its progress. As Hon. Abram S. Hewett, as every one knows, a wealthy employer, has so well said, it is only after labor is organized that the contending parties are in a condition to treat. "The great result is, that capital is ready to discuss. It is not to be disguised, that, until labor presented itself in such an attitude as to compel a hearing, capital was not willing to listen, but now it does listen. The results already attained are full of encouragement."[1]

The difficulties in the way of arbitration have come chiefly from the side of employers, for it is a rare thing when laborers refuse to arbitrate their difficulties with their employers. Few cases of such refusal have ever come under

the table thus certified as sufficient to secure the payment of all sums insured." Trades-Unionism in England, by Thomas Hughes, *Century Magazine*, May, 1884.

[1] Paper read before the Church Congress in Cincinnati, Oct. 18, 1878.

my notice. The pride and arrogance of men who do not like to meet their employees on an equal footing have been the chief obstacles to peaceful settlement of disputes between capital and labor. But when this is said, two things must be borne in mind. There have always been exceptions to the rule. Laborers have had no more sincere, devoted, self-sacrificing friends than some of their employers, and they frequently make a serious mistake in under-estimating the number of their industrial masters, who really wish them well. There are surprisingly many who are able even to perceive that labor, as connected with a human personality, is superior to capital, that all laws and courts must ultimately recognize this, and that labor ought to be given an ever larger and larger measure of rulership, as it shows a fitness for it, until it attains its goal, — complete sovereignty.[1]

On the other hand, it should never be supposed, that by nature employers represent a morally inferior type of men. They simply exhibit the traits of our common human nature, and the employee who is most bitter against his employer might be still worse in the same place. The lesson of this is the lesson of all history ; human nature is too weak to be entrusted with despotic power in an industrial system or anywhere else. Laborers will be ground into the dust if they cannot protect themselves by combination. The following quotations show the spirit of the American labor organizations with respect to arbitration.

" Whenever a dispute arises between an employer, or em-

1 " I affirm it as my conviction that class laws, placing capital above labor, are more dangerous to the Republic at this hour than chattel slavery in the days of its haughtiest supremacy. Labor is prior to and above capital, and deserves a much higher consideration.

" ABRAHAM LINCOLN."

ployers and members of this brotherhood, the members shall lay the matter before the local union, which shall appoint an arbitration committee to adjust the difficulty; then, if said committee cannot settle the dispute, the matter shall be referred to the union." Constitution of the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, Article IX., Section 1.

"The International Typographical Union recommends that when disputes arise between subordinate unions and employers which cannot be adjusted after conference between the parties at issue, the matter be then settled by arbitration." And in another place the constitution of this body contains these words: "Recognizing strikes as detrimental to the best interests of the craft, it directs subordinate unions not to order a strike until every possible effort has been made to settle the difficulty by arbitration."

Among the standing Resolutions of the Iron Moulders' Union is this: "Resolved, That strikes are not beneficial to our organization, and that it would be to our interest to evade as much as possible all strikes, and not to resort to them until all other means at our disposal are exhausted."

One of the aims of the Knights of Labor, as found in their Declaration of Principles, is: "To persuade all employers to agree to arbitrate all differences which may arise between them and their employees, in order that the bonds of sympathy between them may be strengthened, and that strikes may be rendered unnecessary."

It cannot be difficult to explain the different attitudes of labor leaders and capital leaders in the matter of arbitration. Intelligent laborers all dread a strike, as they know well what intense suffering it is likely to produce in their own ranks, but rich capitalists have no dread of actual want. Apart from this the position of laborers is not such as to cultivate

the vices of pride and arrogance. They feel that a concession is made to them when employers consent to arbitrate. To the one it is often a gratification of pride, to the other it is a humiliation of false pride. An illustration may be found in the New Testament. I suppose Christ did not mean to imply that by nature the rich were worse than the poor, when he said that it was harder for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to be saved, but that their position made it so, and that it was difficult for them to learn of social inferiors, like a carpenter's son and fishermen.

The question may then be asked, if labor organizations are so much in favor of arbitration and so much opposed to strikes, Why do strikes occur so often? First of all, it should be known that all strikes are not foolish. As Mill says, they are a necessary part of our industrial system. Laborers are forced at times to hold their commodity, labor, back from the market in order to receive for it the price which the state of the labor market justifies. Employers rarely offer an advance voluntarily, for they are like purchasers of other commodities. Does my reader offer seventeen dollars for a garment when the price asked is only sixteen dollars? There are capitalists who recognize the peculiarities of the commodity labor, and voluntarily offer more than the laborers force from them. Several cases like this have occurred recently, and the labor press, it should be acknowledged, has been very frank in the recognition of this generous treatment. Still they are the exception, and as a rule the laborers are bound to hold themselves in readiness to strike and withdraw their labor from the market, if they are to play their part in the regulation of supply and demand.

Now, two things are to be noticed: First, the very

readiness to strike, and the ability to strike, secure more favorable terms than would otherwise be possible, and also more respectful treatment; second, the common assertion that strikes are always failures is by no means true. When laborers are told this, they know from experience that it is false, and turn away in impatience even from the really good advice which may accompany the assertion. In 1883, Mr. Adolph Strasser, the President of the Cigar Makers' International Union, testified before the United States Senate committee on labor and capital,[1] that there had then been[2] 362 strikes among the cigar-makers, recognized by his organization, of which 204 were successful, 137 lost, 12 compromised, and 10 then in progress. The expenditures for the strikes amounted to $286,444.67, while the gain to the members of the union amounted to $1,800,000 per annum, and the reductions prevented to at least $500,000 per annum. Prof. Sartorius von Waltershausen has made a study of the strikes in the United States from Nov. 1, 1879, to Oct. 1, 1880. Of the 121 for an increase of wages, 80 were won and 19 compromised; of the 26 against a reduction of wages, 21 were lost, 3 compromised, and 2 won.[3] It is seen that strikes fail sometimes, and are sometimes won; but in both cases there is serious loss to somebody, and it would be a gain to everybody if the result of the strike, whatever it may be, could be reached without the strike. To arrive at this conclusion by peaceful methods is the office

[1] The testimony before this committee, known as the Blair Committee, has been issued in four volumes, and contains much matter valuable for any student of the labor problem.

[2] August, 1883.

[3] See Jahrbücher fur National Ökonomie und Statistik, Siebenter Band, Viertes und fünftes Hept. (10 Nov., 1883.)

Compare also an article on "The Statistics of Strikes," published in *Bradstreet's*, April 25, 1885.

of arbitration, and wherever honestly tried, it has proved eminently successful.[1] But arbitration cannot be satisfactorily conducted without labor organizations, as has been seen, and these are also required to educate the laborers for arbitration. The labor leaders are more intelligent than the mass of laborers, and their position often enables them to see when a strike must prove a failure, and to prevent it. The workings of labor organizations do still more to prevent foolish strikes.[2] Take the Cigar Makers' International Union as typical. It requires the votes of two-thirds of all the local unions to authorize a strike. Everywhere there is at least some formality required to obtain the approval and support of an entire organization. The matter is referred first to some one not present on the ground, and who can look at the trouble in a calmer, more impartial manner. While this is going on, the passions of the discontented and angry have an opportunity to subside, and when the unfavorable decision arrives, they continue work or resume work, and the difficulty is past.

Often it will happen that the officers of the organization will be able to adjust the difficulty with employers to the satisfaction of all parties, and that with the exchange of a few words. This is especially apt to be the case whenever or wherever, as in England, for example, the unions are so strong that the employers do not dare to refuse to treat with the officials of the orders. One reason why so many strikes do occur in America is because the unions are not so strong with us as in England, and on the one hand are unable to force recognition from the employers, on the other, to control their

[1] Permanent and fairly conducted boards of arbitration have, in places, nearly abolished strikes.

[2] And, as John Stuart Mill says, a strike is wrong whenever it is foolish.

members. The trouble comes chiefly from unorganized or imperfectly organized laborers.

Two things receive no public attention: the great number of employers who never have any difficulty with their employees,[1] and contemplated strikes which never occur. When one considers the peculiar circumstances which surround the American laboring class, the heterogeneous elements which enter into its composition, and the bad influence of its baser and more ignorant members, its comparatively peaceful career is a just cause of surprise and gratification. The records of our labor organizations show the suppression of a vast number of strikes; it is safe to say of the great majority contemplated. Mr. Strasser, in the testimony to which reference has already been made, stated that the Cigar Makers' International Union had prevented over two hundred strikes in the preceding three years. The whole machinery of the Knights of Labor is designed to prevent strikes. The Knights made a mistake in their excessive zeal to prevent strikes, for no authority was given the main body to support and encourage strikes; consequently no authority to control and prevent them.

The despised leaders of trades-unions are, as a rule, far more conservative than the mass of their followers. They do not urge organized labor on, as is erroneously supposed, but are always trying to hold it back; and many of the foolish strikes occur, not at their instigation, but in spite of their best efforts. The disastrous Hocking Valley strike happened against the advice of the leaders.[2] Time and

[1] It would be well that they should receive attention. Of late too much notice has been directed to employers in a chronic state of difficulty with their laborers.

[2] A gentleman in a position to know, and whose name, could it be mentioned, would at once command the confidence of my readers, writes

time again does it happen that the rank and file refuse to accept settlements effected with their employers by their leaders. If the general public only knew the anarchy which would follow the suppression of the labor organization, they would thank God for their existence. The wild incendiarism of roving bands of discontented laborers in Belgium this last spring, and the excesses of unorganized labor during the first half of this century in England, may give one some faint idea of our fate were the labor organizations to disappear.

"But," insists the reader, "you have given a bright picture of labor organizations. I have always been taught to consider them creations of hell-inspired men. Is there no dark side to the picture?"

Yes, there is a dark side; but the good that these associations do so far outweighs the evil, that it is only just to call attention first and chiefly to their beneficial character, especially so long as their real nature is not understood.

There are three causes of opposition to labor organizations. One is ancient prejudice. Some men are so constituted that they cannot shake off a prejudice of years' standing, no matter what the evidence of their error. Another is the violent partisanship of some who have been brought into conflict with them. The third, and most common, is ignorance; and this will be removed by information. The experience of Thorold Rogers is a common one. In his "Work and Wages," he says of trades-unions: "I confess to having at one time viewed them suspiciously; but a long study of the history of labor has convinced me that

me: "The strike was forced by the ignorant mob of miners against the strenuous opposition of their own leaders. When it was once begun, it was a hard and bitter fight, and some cruel and unjustifiable things were done on both sides."

they are not only the best friends of the workmen, but the best agency for the employer and the public; and that to the extension of these associations political economists and statesmen must look for the solution of some of the most pressing and the most difficult problems of our own time." This has been my experience, and Rev. Dr. T. Edwin Brown, who has written an excellent work on the labor problem, confesses that it has been his. Their cause is so strong, that for a man in a non-partisan position to oppose them is *prima facie* evidence of ignorance. Among political economists it is no longer necessary to vindicate their usefulness, for they almost unanimously favor them.

It is true that workingmen have been guilty of violence, but it seems to be an established fact that the most of those who transgress the laws are outside of the organizations. The Commissioner of Labor of the New York Bureau of Statistics of Labor says, in the Third Annual Report of the Bureau, "Most of the mobs which have created trouble in this State in former years were composed of disorganized or newly organized laborers. The lawless classes are rarely union men, and often not workingmen at all." The mention of "newly organized laborers," suggests the explanation that there are evils incident to the infancy of organizations which they soon outgrow. New unions are inexperienced, and apt to overrate their own strength; also to betray that same insolence which so often accompanies newly acquired power, whether due to wealth, combination, or office.[1] It is a standing rule among old trades-unionists for a union man

[1] The latest troubles in New York with the organization of street-car conductors and drivers would not have occurred in the case of an old union. The trouble in Chicago with the switchmen, it is said, was against the advice of their organization, which is also a new and imperfect union.

never to boast of the strength back of him, or to presume upon it; but new men too often forget this injunction, and give their employers just cause for indignation. In a few places labor organizations have indeed become possessed of despotic power, and they are no more fit than others to exercise unlimited government.[1]

Once more: trades-unions have, as a rule, grown up out of coalitions during a strike, and these first days have been abnormal; yet it is only during the abnormal period of a struggle that public attention is called to them. "The general public knows little and seems to care less for the quiet, steady, beneficent influences which these unions are exerting upon workingmen."[2] So strongly do the Knights of Labor feel on this subject, that it is one of their rules not to take in men who are on strike, although against the will of the leaders, it has at times been violated.[3] Bad men get into labor organizations and struggle for the ascendency. Sometimes, though rarely, they gain it, and do sad havoc, injuring the cause of labor for years. Union men make mistakes, and even very intelligent men are not infallible as guides. Men, too, have often committed crimes and been guilty of folly for which they alone, as individuals, were to blame, yet which have been attributed to them as union men.

On this general subject I will quote the testimony of four clergymen of standing, who have given more or less thought to the labor problems, and have examined the character of labor organizations. Rev. Dr. John Hall says, "There is a

[1] Did I not have in mind the government of the czar, I should say less fit than those who have been taught, by education and social position, to exercise a higher degree of self-restraint.

[2] Quoted from Rev. T. Edwin Brown, D.D.

[3] A charter was recently revoked because the local assembly consisted of men who were organized during a strike.

wide-spread suspicion of trades-unions as being selfishly managed by paid agents for fomenting discord between the employer and the employed. When a continued strike embarrasses a contractor and throws the workers and their families on the benevolence of their fellows, it is natural to look to the evil on the surface and forget the underlying good which is contemplated. In the nature of the case, union effort by working people admits of easy vindication."

The following quotation is from Rev. Dr. T. Edwin Brown, of Providence : —

"When we remember the history of the Christian Church, the history of humanity, and by what terrific throes good evolves itself out of and through evil, we must not be too hard upon workingmen. Are we perfect? Do we commit no blunders? Are we never carried away by passion? Are we always able to balance with perfect accuracy the conflicting interests of ourselves and our fellows? . . . Remember how labor has been oppressed. Remember that in the early days of the modern industrial revolution, labor was being reduced to slavery. Remember that these modern labor organizations, made necessary by bad conditions, and made possible by the very causes which, unhindered, made the conditions bad, were repressed with passionate violence and obstructed by malignant watchfulness, so long as repression and obstruction were possible. Remember that a thousand evil prophecies have been uttered against them which have never been fulfilled. Remember that not until 1824 could these unions exist openly, and that not until 1871 did they have a fully legalized and corporate existence in England, while in this country they have never been adequately organized and protected, and regulated by law. Remember that the majority of those who composed these unions were men ignorant by necessity, suspicious, as hunted animals are suspicious; distrustful of advice, because so often deceived by advice, with many violent and vicious men among them. And then, with all the facts in mind, ask yourselves whether it is wonderful that there have been

mistakes, mischiefs, crimes, much folly in principle, and much wrong in fact. Is not the wonder rather that there have not been many more of these characteristics which arouse our complaints? There have been unwise restrictions, tyrannical regulations, vast aggressions, and hindrances to intelligent labor and to best productions. Yes! But these are incidental. Many of the petty tyrannies, which are quoted even now as characteristic of trades-unionism, belong to the past. They have been outgrown. Many others will be outgrown. The workingmen, in spite of all the blunders that have been made, ought to be proud of their organized history. I, as a man, sharing their common humanity, am proud of their history on their behalf."

The third quotation consists of the conclusion of a sermon by Rev. Thos. K. Beecher, D.D., of Elmira, and is so admirable and so much to the point that room must be made for it, despite its length: —

"The Knights of Labor, having gathered, if you please, one hundred or five thousand names on their lists, must of necessity have gathered in ignorance, passion, lawlessness, and insubordination. Members of that church have misbehaved and will misbehave. I doubt not that there is great mortification and travail of spirit over these disgraceful infidelities to the principles of the Order. Now, as a 'peacemaker,' I affirm that if any man is a good Mason he will never be a drunkard or a fornicator. Yet I have known Masons of high degree who were infamous because of those vices. Nevertheless, I still speak of a good Mason. I know that if a man is a good Methodist he will be a man of prayer, enthusiasm, generosity, and hope, of sanctification; yet I have known Methodists of high degree that were none of those things. I know that a minister of the gospel, if he fulfil his ordination vows, will be truly a reverend man; trustworthy by day or by night, bearing about him the dying of the Lord Jesus, that the life also of Christ, filling and overflowing, may give life to an unbelieving world. Yet I have known ministers first and last that have fallen into every vice of the criminal calendar. Nevertheless, I believe in ministers.

"Brethren, I appeal to you to make yourselves habitually acquainted with the best in every church, sect, party, or order. Cultivate in yourselves large-mindedness, fair-mindedness, and a charity that believeth in all things, endureth all things, hopeth all things. Why, brethren! there is not upon earth so holy a society founded by the Creator himself as the family. And there is not a society upon earth in which I have found infamies more noisome, and agonies more poignant, than have come to my knowledge in the relation of husband and wife, parent and child.

"We must not denounce the Masons, nor the Methodists, nor the Presbyterians, nor the Democrats, nor the Republicans, nor the Communists, nor any other aggregation of our fellow-men in the lump. There is evil in them all, there is good in them all, and always will be, until the harvest, which is the end of the world. Then shall God send forth his reapers, which are the angels, and gather the bad Masons, and bad Methodists, and bad Presbyterians, and bad Democrats, and bad Republicans, and bad Knights of Labor, and bad Socialists, and bind them into bundles to burn them, that the heavenly city be no more plagued by their vices nor scared by their threats; and gather the good Masons, and good Presbyterians, and good Democrats, and good Knights of Labor, and good Communists, and good Socialists, and good capitalists, to enjoy together, for the first time since the stars began their watch, the counsels of an unbroken unity, and the growth and glories of an eternal co-operation.

"Judge nothing before the time. There is one that judgeth all, even God. Let us be careful what we feel, and more careful still as to what we say, as regards our fellow-citizens, in these restless days. Be swift to hear, slow to speak, slow to wrath. The wrath of men will never work out the righteousness of God nor the salvation of society. Let us study to be quiet, to mind our own business, and work with our own hands the thing that is good, that we may have to give to them who suffer much; thus shall we earn the benediction: Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the sons of God."

A clergyman of New England, and a Ph.D. of a Massachusetts college, accompanies a description of the Knights of Labor with these words: "The actual is doubtless below the ideal. The two differ, however, not so much as the ideal church of Christ, and the church as actually realized among men." One precaution which should not be forgotten by those who would judge the laborers honestly is this: you get only one side of the case in press despatches. Could you know both sides, your opinion would frequently be quite different about alleged misdoings of laborers. He who would know both sides must take a labor paper.

One undoubted error of most of the labor leaders, in my opinion, consists in their adhesion to the doctrine that an inflation of the currency, by the issue of larger quantities of paper money, is a good thing, but as one of them said, they "are not pushing that now." Their acceptance of this doctrine is easily explained by an examination of the financial history of the United States during the past twenty-five years. Contraction of the currency doubtless caused some suffering; but fifty years ago laborers complained bitterly on account of the over issue of paper money. It is in such matters they need the aid of scholarship, for the ordinary man errs in his generalizations because he bases them on too narrow a range of observation. This is also an illustration of the fact that no one class is large enough for exclusive rulership. The welfare of society requires the active co-operation of all the members of the social organism.

The dictation of trades-unions is a favorite theme. It is oftenest brought forward as an offence by those who are unwilling to recognize the right of the laborer to a voice in the management of the commodity which he supplies, labor,

and in the management of which he is so vitally interested. The non-partisan fails to see any reason why the laborer has not the right to say, Under such and such conditions I will offer my commodity; under others I will withhold it; even should those conditions include the right to select his companions. On the other hand, it is quite possible that the laborer may make a foolish use of his rights, and it is certain that he too often does make such a use. Some of the most intelligent trades-unionists think the refusal to work with a non-union man is indefensible and injurious to the cause of labor. It is the office of arbitration to help determine what are wise and beneficial, and what are foolish and injurious conditions both for the buyer and seller of labor.

The surrender of personal liberty is often regarded as a condition of membership in a trades-union, but this is little more than a fiction in the case of any well-managed labor organization. Those who furnish capital place its management in the hands of a few, those who furnish labor do so, though to far less extent. If an indiscreet choice is made by either party the result may prove disastrous, and a change should be made as soon as possible. What Mr. Trant says of a strike[1] is true of most affairs of trades-unions. "The idea that a strike depends upon the *ipse dixit* of a paid agitator, and that if the men were to vote by ballot on the question, they would never consent to a strike, is conceived by those only who do not know what a trade-union is. In most cases a strike is the result of action taken by the men themselves in each district, the executive having more power to prevent a strike than to initiate one."[2] And what the Rev. Mr. Kaufmann says is as true of this country as Eng-

[1] In his excellent little work, "Trade-Unions." Kegan, Paul, French & Co., London, 1884.

[2] Members of unions often vote by a show of hands. It would be better to introduce the secret ballot universally.

land: "I have given the subject a great deal of attention, and feel convinced that where the employers have right on their side, in the large majority of cases, the so-called demagogues or professional agitators have little power in provoking a quarrel about the raising or reduction of wages."[1]

Some people seem to believe that laborers work peacefully and contentedly until a mischievous agitator comes along and stirs them up, and creates unreasonable dissatisfaction. All this is pure fiction.

There are demagogues, it is true, and these are dangerous; but they are not the men who are usually mentioned as such in the newspapers. They are generally politicians who mislead the masses with lying lips which utter flatteries and vain promises. Men may be divided into three classes, with respect to their attitude toward the masses. The lowest class is composed of dishonest men who delude them for their own devilish ends. That class constitutes a goodly element among our politicians, and has as large a membership in America as in any other country. The second class ranks a little above this. It is composed of men who scorn the arts of the vulgar politician, and will not degrade themselves by courting men whom they inwardly despise. Coriolanus, as portrayed by Shakespeare, was a high type of this class, which is, in America, a large and influential one. The third and highest class is composed of the noblest specimens of the human race. Men of this class seek the masses for no ignoble ends, but that they may do good to those who need their help. They are Christ-like men who are drawn to those beneath them in their intellectual, ethical, and social natures by an all-embracing love for humanity. These men are a nation's salvation. This third class is small, as yet, in our land, but happily it is a growing one.

[1] See his "Sermons and Lectures to Theological Students."

One danger is, clearly, that the demagogue may get control of the labor movement with all its vast potentialities for good or evil; but this will be averted if those Americans who profess to be guided by principles of Christian ethics do their duty in the present crisis in our history. It cannot be averted by any attempt to suppress trades-unions; on the contrary, an endeavor to crush them is the greatest danger of all which we have to face. As Thomas Hughes has said, "Whatever danger the advancing wave may seem to threaten existing institutions, arises from attempts to block the channel."[1] There is no power in America at the disposal of the employing class which can crush labor organizations. Their opponents may double the police, strengthen the militia, secure control of the legislative authority, put the judges under their thumbs, and buy up every paper in the United States, and their efforts will still be in vain. Kings and emperors and parliaments have been trying just such experiments at intervals for six hundred years, and have not succeeded. The first fundamental fact to be grasped is that the labor organizations are with us, and will remain with us. There never will be peace until they receive full recognition. Employers who really mean well should seek, as many of them are doing, to work through them and to develop everything that is good in them.

[1] *Trade-Unionism in England.* — *Century Magazine*, May, 1884. In the same article occurs this passage, which ought to be reassuring to Americans at the present time. In speaking about trades-unions in England in 1851, he says: "The press echoed the alarm of the employers, and denounced these combinations in unmeasured terms. The trade of the country would be ruined by those great unions of the working classes, controlled by irresponsible councils, whose authority was blindly obeyed, and which were composed of men whose profession was agitation, and whose living depended upon fostering disputes." Talk of that kind is now a thing of the past in England.

Still another danger has been brought to public attention recently, and it seems to me one well calculated to excite alarm. It is, that unscrupulous speculators may attempt to use our labor organizations to raise and depress railway stocks and other property for their own ends. It will require vigilance to avert such a calamity.

There is a great deal of talk about the expenses of the unions, and there seems to be an impression that they are devouring the earnings of our artisans and mechanics. The truth is, the expenses of the organizations are light during the time of peace, and contest is only an exception in the history of the most beligerent.[1] Take salaries, for example. From 1867 to 1885 the highest annual cost per man for salaries of officers of the International Typographical Union was only eighteen cents, while the lowest was but seven cents. Take, for another example, the contributions of the Knights of Labor to their central body. They amount to six cents a quarter for each member. Of course contributions for relief and benefit features, and other forms of mutual aid, and for strikes, when they occur, are much larger, though far smaller than most people imagine. When a labor organization is well managed, it yields a large return for all that it costs. One other fiction only must receive attention now, and that is the "fat places" in the organizations. There are none; no men work harder, perform more arduous duties, or duties requiring a higher order of intellect, for the same salaries, than the officers of the great labor organizations. Mr. Powderly receives $1,500 per annum; Mr. Turner, the general secretary of the Knights of Labor, $1,200; the president of the Flint Glass-Workers is paid $1,100 a year. These are among the higher salaries.

[1] The Amalgamated Carpenters reported that during the year 1883–84 not one trade dispute occurred.

Some serve in union capacities without pay; others receive $25 and $50 a year.

One obstacle in the way of the growth of trades-unions in America has been that the abilities of their officers have so often attracted the attention of capitalists who could pay higher salaries. Many of their best men have been lost to them in this manner.

The great mass of men follow leaders. They may protest against the fact, but they do it all the same, for they cannot help it. Now who are the natural leaders of the laboring classes? Their industrial superiors; and when we pass judgment on the employee, we are obliged to inquire what kind of an example has been set him by his employer. An examination of our social history reveals the fact that the laborers have been guilty of no offence for which they could not find a precedent in the conduct of unscrupulous employers.[1] The subject of violence to non-union men affords an example, and on this Professor Thorold Rogers comments as follows: "The violence which has characterized the action of workingmen against those who abstain from their policy, compete against them for employment in a crisis, and, as they believe, selfishly profit by a process which they are too mean to assist, but from which they reap no small advantage, is indefensible and suicidal. But it has its parallel in the attitude of joint stock companies to interlopers, and in the devices by which traders have over and over again striven to ruin rivals who will not abide by trade customs, or even seek to be independent competitors against powerful agencies. I see no difference beyond the fact that law allows them, between the rattening of a Sheffield saw grinder, and the expedients by which in the committee

[1] For instance, the cutting of wires of telegraph and tearing up the track of railways by opposing companies.

rooms of the House of Commons, railway directors seek to extinguish competition schemes. Men who have not had the refinements of education, and who are not practised in the arts of polite malignity, may be coarse and rude in the expedients which they adopt, but when the process is essentially the same, when the motive is practically identical, and the result is precisely equal, the manner is of no importance to the analyst of motives and conduct."[1]

American railway history has furnished employees with many examples of violence perpetrated by vast corporations; and it can scarcely surprise the thoughtful man that the underling should take the lesson to heart and occasionally attempt violence on his own account. I myself have seen the property of one railway corporation seized by another without the slightest ground in right or justice, and it was so common and every day an occurrence that it attracted little attention. I am not aware that in all the United States a single editor thought it worth while to publish an editorial about it. Let me give another illustration in the concrete of the parallel between the conduct of the poorer and wealthier classes. We often hear it spoken of as something monstrous that trades-unions should establish rates of wages, and force their members to abide by them.[2] This is nothing peculiar to labor organizations. In a recent description of the New York Stock Exchange, we are told that even the *offering* to do business at less than the established rates "is

[1] Page 403–4 of "Work and Wages."

[2] It is commonly said that trades-unions establish a uniform rate for all. I think this rarely happens. They establish a minimum rate. The bricklayers of Philadelphia have a minimum rate of $3.50, but only the poorer bricklayers receive so little. Some receive $3.75, others $4.00, $4.25, and even $4.50. They also grant special permission to old or infirm bricklayers to take less than $3.50. This is merely an example.

punishable by expulsion from the exchange, and sale forthwith by the committee on admissions of the membership of the offender." If the reader wishes other parallels, let him go to the physicians among whom I have known one to be ostracised for cutting below the established rates.

Finally, that terrible weapon of labor, the "boycott" found a precedent in the far more cruel black list which preceded it, in most cases caused it, and still continues its atrocities unrebuked.[1] Now the parallels are not in themselves justification, but if the practice is wrong, they do prove that our entire industrial society needs reformation, and that it is cruelly unjust to saddle all the blame on those who follow their natural leaders.

Is the conclusion of all this that injustice must be met by injustice? that the laborer should retaliate upon others the wrong he has suffered? No, a thousand times no! It would be madness. Love, not vengeance, is the law of the highest civilization for which we must strive, and in which alone it can ever be well with men. Violence never settles any question, and no question is ever settled until it reaches a righteous solution.[2] The conclusion of all that has been said is, then, this: We must never cease to strive to place our social and industrial institutions on the rock foundation of righteousness; for until we can find such a basis for them, we have reason to fear something terrible indeed, and that is the wrath of God.

[1] *Harper's Weekly* has denounced it in as strong terms as the boycott, and it has been condemned by other journals, but it has generally been passed over in silence by the newspapers.

[2] So well established is this as an historical fact, that "The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church" has passed into a proverb.

CHAPTER VII.

CO-OPERATION IN AMERICA.

I. Distributive Co-operation.

THE phrase, "competence to the purchaser," has been used as the rallying cry of distributive co-operation. As generally practised, it is simply the union of consumers in order to obtain commodities of various kinds at reduced rates, and also to secure satisfactory guarantees of quality of goods and of honest dealing in general. Such a combination of purchasers is in Germany appropriately called a Consumers' Union. Distributive co-operation assumes a multitude of forms. In some instances it means nothing more than a club, whose members obtain reduced rates by special agreement with certain regular dealers. This is the case with the Rochdale Co-operative Society of Washington, composed largely of clerks and government employees at the national capital. The dealers hope to indemnify themselves by a larger trade and by the cash payments, which are a feature of the agreement between them and the Rochdale Society. A more frequent form of distributive co-operation is seen in the co-operative store, managed entirely by the co-operative society at its own risk, and sharing profit or loss according to some equitable rule. One of the most brilliant examples of success achieved by co-operation of this kind is that of the Philadelphia Industrial Co-operative Society, of which more will be said presently.

It may well be asked, Why should so much importance be attached to this simple business contrivance, by which men hope to effect small savings in their purchases? Nor is a satisfactory answer always an easy matter. When there is nothing more to co-operation in distribution than that which appears at first sight, or when it is not undertaken with a view to subsequent industrial development, it merits less attention than it has received. Apart from its educational value, which is considerable, it is then at best simply an improvement of not large proportions in the conduct of business. When not at its best, it is frequently a disastrous failure in an attempt to improve trade relations, and entails serious loss upon poor men, ill able to bear the burden. An example of the power which resides in a name is seen in the history of the Co-operative Dress Association, which failed in New York some three years ago. What was this Dress Association? It consisted of a number of people of considerable means, many of them even wealthy, who hoped by combination to save a small sum in their bills for clothing. There was no special grievance of which they had to complain, for the retail merchants of New York were then, as now, alert and enterprising, willing to sell goods at a small advance above cost, and were not remiss in that polite consideration which customers may reasonably demand from those with whom they deal. Here the whole experiment began and ended. There was no reason why its existence should have attracted wide attention; no reason why there should have been regret when, in spite of all the gratuitous advertising it received, it failed.

It is important that one should enter upon the study of co-operation with clear ideas as to its true significance and its real worth, or intrinsic worthlessness, as the case may be. We have to do, it is generally supposed, with a radical re-

form, whose aim is to elevate the masses, both in mind and body. Now, it is evident that an agreement of A, B, C, and D, all to trade with one man, in case he will sell them commodities at ten per cent below the regular prices, is not an event of such significance as to justify the waste of any considerable emotional energy. Nor is there cause for excitement when X, Y, and Z determine to open a small retail store for their own benefit, with the desire to add the retailers' profit to the income they may derive from other sources. A recent writer proclaimed boastfully that co-operation meant business, and nothing more. If that is all, let us at once turn our attention to some more profitable and interesting topic.

But that is not all. The aims of co-operation are as far-reaching as those of the social union. It contemplates, as has already been said, a complete, though peaceful, transformation of society.[1] Co-operators, when worthy of the name, are firm in the conviction expressed for them by John Stuart Mill: —

"That the industrial economy which divides society absolutely into two portions, the payers of wages and the receivers of them, the first counted by thousands and the last by millions, is neither fit for nor capable of indefinite duration; and the possibility of changing this system for one of combination without dependence, and unity of interest instead of organized hostility, depends altogether upon the future developments of the partnership principle."

It is, then, from the standpoint of those who desire a transformation and an elevation of the masses, that we must pass judgment on co-operative enterprises. The argument, formerly much in vogue as a defence of slavery, that the

[1] This has always been the animating idea of the leaders of the co-operative movement in England.

institution united harmoniously the interests of capital and labor, was of greater force than the friends of free labor were then willing to admit, as is proved by the chronic state of disturbed relations between employer and employed which has come upon us, and promises to remain with us for years to come. Co-operation admits the desirability of a union between capital and labor, but maintains that such a union can be accomplished by voluntary associations among men, both for the purpose of production and distribution.

Distributive co-operation is, then, but a small part of the problem whose solution presses upon us. Frequently it means no direct union of capital and labor, but carries with it a division of profits only between capital and the patrons of capital, in other words, the consumers. This is the rule in England, where the annual sales of the co-operative stores exceed in value one hundred millions of dollars. It happens rarely that the employees participate in the profits of trade, though it is now clearly seen that capital, labor, and custom should all share in the products of enterprises in proportion to the services they render; and in isolated instances, as in the case of the great Scotch co-operative wholesale store, this principle prevails; while the best leaders, those who have furnished the life-giving spirit, are endeavoring to extend the application of co-operation until, in all its ramifications, it reaches its logical outcome.

Distributive co-operation is a school. It is a training which, it is hoped, will lead to better things. More than this is true. Distributive co-operation is a beginning. If it is ever completely successful, it will only be as part of a co-operative system which embraces the industrial life of the people. The story of the origin, the progress, and the achievements of distributive co-operation in Great Britain has often been

told ;[1] but the history of the checkered career of distributive co-operation in America has never been penned. Much of it is already lost, and much survives only in the memory of the aged, who once, full of youth and generous enthusiasm, devoted themselves to the spread of co-operation. As Rev. Dr. Heber Newton has well said, "Co-operation awaits its Old Mortality, piously bent on rescuing from oblivion the fading characters of these living epitaphs." This is not the place for a statistical paper, giving a catalogue of failures and successes. We are now concerned only with a general view, which must, however, be sufficiently accurate to enable us to form in our own minds some kind of a picture of the actual condition of things in the past and in the present.

The history of distributive co-operation in the United States may be divided into two periods, each of nearly equal duration. The first begins about 1835 and extends to the time of the Civil War ; the second continues from the beginning of that event to the present. I have been able to discover only two or three existing co-operative enterprises which may be traced back to the first period, — the Central Union of New Bedford, the Natick Protective Union, and a large store at Worcester are mentioned by Mr. George E. McNeill, of Boston.

Mr. McNeill, a veteran in the labor-movement, has prepared a history of co-operation in Massachusetts, which was published in the Report of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor for 1877, and this is my chief source of information for co-operation in New England before that year. From this report we learn that co-operation was discussed in Boston, in 1831, by the New England Association of Farmers and Mechanics ; but the members of the com-

[1] A sketch of it, by the writer, may be found in the *Congregationalist*, of Boston, March 12, 1885.

mittee appointed to consider the subject were able to agree upon no report, and no definite action was taken at that time. Several germs of co-operative effort are found between 1831 and 1845, but no accurate account of them was found by Mr. McNeill, nor have I been able to discover anything further than what is stated by that gentleman; viz., that it was attempted to effect a saving by the purchase of goods in large quantities, to be broken up and distributed at a slight advance above original cost, to meet expenses. The managers were unpaid, the interest was not maintained, and the stores soon failed, suspended operations, or passed into the possession of private parties.

Whenever co-operation has in this country assumed large proportions, it has been connected with some trades-union or labor organization, and those societies which are to be specially borne in mind in this connection are the four following; namely, the New England Protective Union, the Patrons of Husbandry, the Sovereigns of Industry, and the Knights of Labor. The New England Protective Union was formed in 1845, but then bore the name, Workingmen's Protective Union, which it retained until 1849. A schism took place in the body in 1853, because one party in the Union thought that the purchasing agent for the co-operative stores had been unfairly deprived of his position, and they were unwilling either to await a peaceful and constitutional settlement of the difficulty, or to waive a personal question for the sake of the inestimable benefits of unity. The seceders formed an organization, called the American Protective Union.

A correct view of co-operation seems to have been general among the laborers at that time, for the following preamble and resolution were adopted at the convention of the New England Workingmen's Union, held in Fall River, in September, 1845: —

"*Whereas*, All means of reform heretofore offered by the friends of social reform have failed to unite the producing classes, much less attract their attention, therefore,

"*Resolved*, That protective charity and concert of action in the purchase of the necessaries of life are the only means to the end to obtain that union which will end in their amelioration."

The sentiments of the Workingmen's Protective Union were reported to agree in the main with those found at that same time in the constitution adopted at New York by the National Industrial Convention. The important thought that an economy of a few dollars a year in the purchase of commodities was no way out of the difficulties of the laborers, but was valuable only as a preparation for something better, is brought out still more clearly in the following extract from a report by the committee on organization of industry, issued in 1849: —

"Brothers, shall we content ourselves with the miserable idea of merely saving a few dollars, and say we have found enough? Future generations, ay, the uprising generation is looking to us for nobler deeds. Shall we disappoint them? No! by all that is great and good, let us trust in the truth of organized industry. Time, undoubtedly, must intervene before great results can be expected to accrue from a work of this character. We must proceed from combined stores to combined shops, from combined shops to combined houses, to joint ownership in God's earth, the foundation that our edifice must stand upon."

The resources of these laborers were small, but they began their work "with faith in God and the right," to use their words, and "the purchase of a box of soap and one-half box of tea." This humble beginning rapidly assumed larger and increasing proportions, until, in October, 1852, the

Union embraced 403 divisions, of which 167 reported a capital of $241,712, and 165 of these announced annual sales amounting to $1,696,825. The schism in 1853 weakened the body, but the agent of the American Protective Union claimed for the divisions comprising it, sales aggregating in value over nine and one-quarter millions of dollars in the seven years ending in 1859.

It is not possible to tell what might have been the outcome of this co-operative movement had peace continued. As it was, the disturbed era of the Civil War nearly annihilated it. Nor can it be difficult to see the causes which led to the destruction of the still tender plant. Men left their homes for the battlefield; foreigners poured into New England towns and replaced the Americans in the shops; while shareholders frequently became frightened at the state of trade, and gladly saw the entire enterprise pass into the hands of the storekeeper.

Various minor efforts at co-operation during the following years must be passed over with a simple allusion to the fact of their existence. Such are the co-operative experiments connected with the Boston Labor Reform Association, which aimed at the "discharge of all useless middle-men;" of the same character are the co-operative associations, productive and distributive, which were inaugurated by that once powerful, but short-lived, union of shoemakers called the Knights of Saint Crispin.

The two co-operative movements of large proportions, next in order of time, are those set in motion by the Patrons of Husbandry, or Grangers, and the Sovereigns of Industry.

The Sovereigns of Industry were a secret order, founded in Worcester, Mass., in the month of January, 1874, by William H. Earle. The first paragraph of the Declaration of Purposes reads as follows:

"The order of the Sovereigns of Industry is an association of the industrial or laboring classes, without regard to race, sex, color, nationality, or occupation; not founded for the purpose of waging any war of aggression upon any other class, or for fostering any antagonism of labor against capital, or of arraying the poor against the rich; but for mutual assistance in self-improvement and self-protection."

The entire declaration breathes forth the same pacific intent which is likewise seen in the motto adopted for the official journal of the Sovereigns, the *Sovereign Bulletin*, namely, "Capital and Labor, Friends, not Enemies." Indeed it may be said that the extreme of good nature has been reached when this order promises to resist the organized encroachments of monopolists only by such "wise and kindly measures" as it can command. While an entire re-organization of society seems to have been contemplated in a vague and general kind of way, the Declaration of Purposes directs attention chiefly to the advantages of co-operation in distribution, that is, in making purchases. The aim was to secure economy by the abolition of the middlemen, consisting of "speculator, broker, commission agent, wholesale dealer, jobber, and retailer," and also to teach the members of the order to avoid the disastrous and extravagant system of credit.

The members in a town or district constituted a local council; the local councils in a State formed a State council; while the national council consisted of representatives of all the States. The president of the national council was the founder of the order, William H. Earle.

Brilliant success accompanied the efforts of the promoters of the Sovereigns of Industry for a few years. Within four months there were thirty-three councils in Massachusetts. One year later, the old Bay State claimed fifty-seven

councils, with 3,564 members, and in 1877 ninety-eight councils, with an estimated membership of 10,000. The order extended into other states, and even reached the territories. Its chief strength, however, always remained in New England and the Middle States. The Sovereigns were well represented at Washington, where the national organ was published during the last period of its existence, but the order does not appear to have obtained a foot-hold in any more southern section of the country.

The largest store belonged to the council at Springfield, Mass., which in 1875 built the "Sovereigns' Block," at a cost of $35,500. The hall was dedicated amid that jubilation which always marks an event thought to be the forerunner of a new era. There is now a certain pathos in the high hopes expressed in the Address of Dedication, by President Earle. So much labor, such bright anticipations, such lofty aims! Are they but a light to reveal the completeness of the wreck? Let us not say this; the end is not yet!

The order continued to thrive until 1878, shortly after which a decline began, and dissolution was the fate of the Sovereigns in 1880. We may take the business of the former year as an indication of the field in trade once won by co-operation — then lost to the good cause. President Earle, in his address at the fourth annual session in Washington, stated that the store at Springfield led all the others with sales amounting to $119,000 for the preceding year, while the forty-five councils which sent in statements reported a trade of $750,000 during the last twelve months. About one-half failed to report. The profits were in many instances large, notably so in Worcester, where the returns on the capital invested in the Sovereigns' Co-operative Association averaged sixty-five per cent per annum from April

20, 1875, to Jan. 1, 1878. Many councils pursued co-operation no further than it is to be found in the club-order system, and others entered into special agreements with regular dealers, whereby considerable discounts were received. Although the order failed in 1880, and co-operative enterprises connected with an organization generally rise and fall with the particular society through which they came into existence, the careful student will doubtless still discover traces here and there, scattered throughout the length and breadth of the land, of what once bid fair to be a powerful movement. An occasional survivor, like the Rochdale Society of Washington, still continues its existence, alone and isolated, like a stranded mariner.

The well-known organization of farmers, called the Patrons of Husbandry, or, more commonly, Grangers, achieved grand results in co-operation, chiefly distributive. It has been claimed that co-operation saved its members twelve millions of dollars in one year. The high-water mark seems to have been reached about 1876, when the Patrons had five "steamboat or packet lines, thirty-two grain elevators and twenty-two warehouses for storing goods." The membership of the order rapidly increased to a million, or thereabouts, in the first ten years of its existence, but then declined. Of late, new life and vigor have evidently been infused into the Patrons of Husbandry, and it is not improbable that their numbers exceed half a million, while there are over a million who have been members of the Grange, and to-day stand to a greater or less extent under the influence of its ideas.

The secretary of the National Grange, Mr. John Trimble, kindly sends me these lines in reply to my request for exact statistics:

"This office has no record of the strength of the order,

each State grange keeping its own record. I have no record of co-operative movements, as they are not part of the National Grange. We give them all possible moral encouragement and support, but they are not legally component parts of the national organization."

By this it will be understood that co-operation is left to the local and State granges, and in looking through the reports of the State organizations, one may get an idea of the dimensions of the co-operative movement among the Patrons of Husbandry.

It is evident that co-operation is still a power among the farmers, and it is not improbable that one may say, at present, an increasing power. The Texas Co-operative Association of the Patrons of Husbandry reported seventy-five co-operative granges in 1881, the number soon increased to one hundred, while in the present year one hundred and fifty stores are claimed in addition to one central agency or wholesale house.

Other States cannot show so favorable a record, but several of them send encouraging reports. A large store is the co-operative commission house in Baltimore, called the Maryland Grange Agency, Patrons of Husbandry, the success of which may fairly be called brilliant. It operates on the favorite Rochdale plan, dividing profits on sales, after paying expenses and a moderate interest on capital. This, it may be remarked, is the most common practice in the case of distributive co-operation. During the last two years the Baltimore agency at $83\frac{1}{2}$ S. Charles Street has divided $9,000 in profits. It started with a capital of $12 in 1876, and sold two million dollars worth of goods during the first four years, and that without the loss of a dollar. Its transactions now range from three to five hundred thousand dollars per annum. California has a successful co-operative

enterprise to show in the Grange Bank, with a paid-in capital of $5,000,000. This, however, comes more properly under the head of co-operative credit, which is, after all, a different thing from co-operative distribution. The Knights of Labor are beginning to establish stores, many of them as yet quite humble, in every part of the United States; and all over the country one finds scattered, unconnected co-operative stores. The largest enterprise of this character, so far as I have been able to ascertain, is the Philadelphia Industrial Co-operative Society, founded in 1874. Starting with one store, the forty-third quarterly report gives the addresses of four main stores and four branches. The sales for this quarter, ending May 16, 1885, amounted to $57,649.87. Dividends have been regularly paid on purchases, and the society has been prosperous from the start. Apart from the direct benefit, there has been indirect gain from a lower range of prices in other stores in the vicinity. The society acts as a savings bank, as it receives money from the poor for investment in shares and allows interest and profits to accumulate. This money saved may be withdrawn, and the president of the society told me that in this way the organization had kept many a family from distress during the recent hard times.

I might fill several pages of manuscript with an imperfect list of co-operative stores and agencies of one kind and another, but the scope of this work does not admit it. Does the reader wish an estimate of the total business transacted by co-operative distribution in the Unitnd States? An estimate is scarcely possible, but I will give a rash guess, and say, twenty millions of dollars per annum.

II. Productive Co-operation.

While co-operative distribution adopts as its maxim, "Competence to the purchaser," productive co-operation finds a watchword in, "Competence to the workman." The first benefits the laborer indirectly. It helps him as a consumer, but not as a workingman. It teaches him thrift and frugality, and affords him an opportunity to invest his savings. It does not enter into the sphere of his activities as a producer. Co-operation in production, however, takes hold at once of the more vital problem of the relations between capital and labor.

It might be thought that production ought to come first, then consumption, then a combination of both in integral co-operation, embracing the entire range of industrial life. Such has not, however, been the view of co-operators, for it has been held that the simpler process, distribution or exchange, ought to precede the more complex process, production. Undoubtedly the organization of industry for productive purposes is more difficult than the purchase and sale of commodities in the store, and it is equally certain that the preliminary training obtained by the management of distributing agencies may be helpful in productive co-operation.

There are various forms of productive enterprise which may be classed together under the general head of co-operative production. One form is called industrial partnership, or profit sharing, which contemplates a voluntary division of profits by the employer of labor. The remuneration of the employees is made to depend in part upon the success of the enterprise, and they are occasionally encouraged to purchase an interest in the business. Pure co-operation in production is an association of laborers to conduct a productive undertaking on their own account.

They abolish the employer, or captain, of industry and employ themselves. Co-operation is also used to denote a union of producers for production, even when these producers do not belong to the class of employees. Thus we hear about the co-operation of farmers in cheese factories and creameries. Profits are divided according to various principles, but the commonest method is to conduct a co-operative establishment like an ordinary joint stock concern, paying wages and dividing profits on stocks in proportion to investment. In other words, as a rule, co-operative manufacturing establishments are joint stock corporations in which the actual workers are at the same time the stockholders and managers. There may be other peculiar features connected with the co-operative enterprise. A portion of the earnings may be set aside for common purposes, as amusement and education; and it is the practice to give each shareholder only one vote, to prevent combinations and that robbery of a minority which is unhappily so familiar to us in corporate management. Occasionally interest is paid on capital, and the surplus profit is distributed among the laborers. It rarely happens that any portion of the profits of a productive and co-operative concern is divided among purchasers. I cannot now recollect a single instance of the kind in America.

Productive co-operation before our late war may be dismissed with few words. The object of this co-operation, as seen, is to establish the industrial independence of the laborer and to enable him to divert profits into his own pockets. It is only recently that there has been an immense field for this sort of association; for production in manufactures was at an earlier period carried on in small shops whose proprietors were likewise manual laborers. There were comparatively few employees, and these could always hope soon

to enter into direct relations with the consumer of their products. Agriculturists did not feel the need of co-operation. There were always "hired men" in the North, but these were easily able to become independent farmers, working for no master; and the agricultural laborer of the South was a slave. The farmer, the carpenter, the blacksmith, and the shoemaker, comprised a large portion of the producers in the United States one hundred years ago, and none of these then desired co-operative industry.

The cod and mackerel fisheries, however, are an exception. These required larger forces and greater capital, and profit-sharing was introduced in this branch of production one hundred and fifty years ago, and is still continued.[1] Those who went on whaling voyages from New England also were remunerated in part in the profits of the voyage. The merchants in the China trade are generally mentioned in this connection because they allowed their men a percentage on the profits of each voyage; and this practice seems to have been not uncommon among ship owners fifty years ago. At any rate, the chief officer, the captain, appears to have been very often, perhaps as a rule, a participant in profits.

The first large co-operative movement in the field of production was, so far as I discover, among the workers in iron, and it was undoubtedly due largely to the indefatigable efforts of William H. Sylvis, the founder of the Iron Moulders' International Union.

Mr. Sylvis made a report to the Iron Moulders' Union in 1864, in which he dwelt upon the advantages of co-operative foundries. A committee was appointed to take this subject into consideration, and in the words of Mr. Sylvis's biographer,

[1] For an account of profit-sharing in the New England fisheries, see the "Report of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor," for 1886.

this committee "gave birth to the agitation which has since made the moulders so greatly successful in their application of the principle of co-operation to production, as is evidenced in the existence of several co-operative foundries in Troy, Albany, Cincinnati, and other places which are now making a great deal of money by assuring to themselves, not only the wages made by ordinary workers, but the profits earned or secured by capitalists in foundries conducted on the wages system." That Mr. Sylvis laid sufficient stress on co-operation is proved by the following extract from an article on that topic in the *Iron Moulders' International Journal:* —

"Of all the questions now before us, not one is of so great importance, or should command so large a portion of our consideration, as co-operation. . . . Co-operation is the only true remedy for low wages, strikes, lock-outs, and a thousand other impositions and annoyances to which workingmen are subjected."

At the close of 1869, members of the Iron Moulders' International Union owned and operated fourteen co-operative foundries chiefly in New York and Pennsylvania.[1]

How many foundries were established, there is no means of discovering. Most of them have failed, but there have been some examples of success, and the iron-workers still show sufficient faith in co-operation to continue an uninterrupted series of experiments in associated effort.

The Co-operative Foundry Company of Rochester has been a financial success, though a partial failure as a co-operative enterprise. When it was established, nineteen years ago, all employees were stockholders, and profits were divided as follows: twelve per cent on capital, and the balance in proportion to the earnings of the men. But

[1] Authority is an article in the *New York Times* of Jan. 18, 1870.

the capitalist was stronger than the co-operative brother Dividends on capital were advanced in a few years to seventeen and one-half per cent on capital, then to twenty-five, and finally the distribution of any part of the profits in proportion to wages was discontinued. Money has been made, and dividends have been paid every year. Two years ago they amounted to forty per cent on capital. About one-fifth of the employees are now stockholders. Co-operation has not in this case prevented a conflict between employer and employee, as is shown in a recent strike of three months and a half duration. It is interesting to notice that one of the strikers, a member of the Moulders' Union, owned stock to the amount of $7,000.

The Buffalo Co-operative Stove Company is still in operation, and its prospects are reported as good. I am unable to learn how much of the stock is owned by workmen.

The iron moulders established a co-operative foundry in Nashua, N. H., in 1881, with a capital of $4,000 which has been increased to $16,000. Customary wages are paid in addition to ten per cent on stock. The effect on character is indicated by the fact that there is only one intemperate man among the workmen, and it is said that he is reforming.

Another successful co-operative foundry company is described in the Massachusetts Report on Labor for 1877. It was established in 1868 in Somerset, Mass., and is still in successful operation in that place. A foundry, under the auspices of the Knights of Labor, has been recently started, or is about to start, at Spring City, Pa. A new co-operative stove foundry in Atchison, Kan., has also been reported recently. It is evident, then, that there has been more or less co-operation, and a great deal of co-operative feeling among the iron-moulders during the last twenty years.

The Sovereigns of Industry did but little in the way of productive co-operation, and the Patrons of Husbandry have accomplished comparatively little in this direction, although their achievements have not been unworthy of notice. Indeed, it is certain that our farmers do not desire any all-embracing system of co-operation, for that would include agriculture which most of them wish to pursue individually. Their co-operation has ever looked chiefly, though not exclusively, to the abolition of an expensive surplus of middlemen, in order to save the gains of this class for themselves.

The only large and powerful organization which has earnestly taken hold of the entire industrial problem, with a view to the final introduction of co-operation into all spheres of production, and the complete overthrow of the present industrial and competitive economic order, is the Knights of Labor. Their public Declaration of Principles contains this statement with reference to co-operation : —

"We will endeavor to associate our own labors, to establish co-operative institutions, such as will supersede the wage system by the introduction of a co-operative industrial system."

While the Knights of Labor have not entirely neglected distributive co-operation, their achievements in productive co-operation are far more remarkable, and are now to be seen in all parts of the land. I suppose that I might, without great difficulty, enumerate one hundred co-operative undertakings at present in progress under the auspices of the Knights.

One of the branches of production in which co-operation, both among the Knights of Labor, and among other working-men, has noticeable results to exhibit, is journalism and publication. The following periodicals are published by

co-operative societies: the *Labor Siftings* of Fort Worth, Tex.; the *Trades Union* of Atchison, Kan.; the *Puget Sound Weekly Co-operator*, W. T.; the *People*, Providence, R. I.; the *Daily Evening Star* of Bay City, Mich.; the daily and weekly *Laborer* of Haverhill, Mass.; and the *New Yorker Volkszeitung*. The success of the two last named is considerable. With the exception of the *Staatszeitung* of New York, the *New Yorker Volkszeitung*, a moderate socialistic journal, claims the largest circulation among the German papers of the country. It is a daily, with a weekly and a special Sunday edition. The Boston *Herald*, it is interesting to note, may be traced back to a co-operative enterprise among a number of printers in 1846.

The Kentucky Railroad Tobacco Company of Covington is endeavoring to introduce equitable relations between labor and capital in this novel manner: The employees are paid "weekly their wages in cash and in full, and these wages to be fully up to the prices paid for corresponding labor in any factory in the vicinity." Now these wages are regarded as a dividend of six per cent on the labor capital represented by the workman. If an employee averages $12 a week, his labor stock is estimated at $10,000; for at six per cent interest that would yield $600. In other words, wages are capitalized and added to money capital. As labor has already received six per cent in wages, capital must first receive six per cent out of any profits. The surplus is a dividend on labor stock and on cash capital. Thus, if eight per cent on the entire capital is realized, the laborer whose earnings are $600 per annum will receive an additional $200, or two per cent on his labor stock of $10,000. The following lines are underscored in the circular of the company: —

"Every stockholder in this concern must be a worker.

No one is allowed to hold any of the stock who does not work in the factory. Every worker in the factory must be a Knight of Labor.

"The only factory in the United States that recognizes the equality of labor and capital."

The president of the company, J. R. Ledyard, published some time ago the following testimony as to the advantages of co-operation as exhibited by their experience: —

"The marked effect of co-operation, as is shown amongst the workers in this factory, would convince any one that it works good results in the whole *morale* of the man. So much does every one in the factory feel interested that it requires no watching, no ordering, no admonitions, but all are on the alert to do and keep everything the best."

It is not necessary to consider at length all the individual cases of co-operation in production in the United States. Indeed, to do so would require a work of several volumes. A few concerns are mentioned, however, merely to show the diversity of pursuits to which it is attempted to apply co-operation, and also to bring out clearly the fact that the movement is national in extent. Many, in fact nearly all, the enterprises are humble from the point of view of business, but their significance lies in their germinal character. Carpenters' Co-operative Association, Decatur, Ill.; Co-operative Manufacturing Company (boots and shoes), Easton, Pa.; Concord Co-operative Printing Company (limited), 47 and 49 Center Street, New York; Co-operative Flint Works, Beaver Falls, Pa.; Richmond (Va.) Co-operative Commercial and Manufacturing Company (soap); Union Co-operative Granite Works, South Ryegate, Vt.; Quincy Co-operative Granite Works, West Quincy, Mass.; two co-

operative hat companies, in South Norwalk, Ct.; Union Co-operative Building Association, Denver, Col.[1]

The most remarkable success of co-operative production is found among the coopers of Minneapolis. Their first co-operative barrel factory was started in 1874, and there are now seven of them, doing a business of one million dollars yearly. Interest is paid on money invested, and surplus profits are divided among the coopers in proportion to earnings.

Nearly all the mills of Minneapolis are supplied by them, and are well satisfied with the quality of their work. It is prophesied by Mr. J. S. Rankin that soon there will not be a "boss" cooper shop in the town. This Mr. Rankin, whose name is important in the history of co-operation in Minneapolis, is thus described by a common acquaintance: —

"There is an old printer, named Rankin, here, who is a moderate socialist and well read in political economy. He is a charming old man, and comes into my office for a talk occasionally. He is reading Sidgwick just now. . . . He is an ardent believer in co-operation, and has been a sort of father to the movement among our coopers."

As I was not able to visit Minneapolis in my tour of investigation, I will quote the interesting testimony of an eye-witness, my friend, Dr. Albert Shaw of the Minneapolis *Tribune*, who has had opportunity to see the practical workings of co-operation in Minneapolis, and who kindly writes me the following statement: —

"I have found a remarkable instance of productive co-operation. I have already begun to collect the data for an

[1] Twelve co-operative manufacturing enterprises in Massachusetts are mentioned in the report of Bureau of Statistics of Labor for 1886. The article on Profit Sharing in that Report should be read by those who desire further information on this subject.

economic essay, to be entitled, 'The Co-operative Coopers of Minneapolis.' So far as I am aware, these cooper-shops form the most successful examples of productive co-operation in the world; and yet, if anybody has ever alluded to them in a scientific way, I have never found it out. When I state that the flour mills of this city far surpass those of any other milling point in the world, and that they have a daily capacity of thirty thousand barrels of floor, you will perceive the necessity for coopers. Not far from half the flour is shipped in barrels (the other half in sacks). There are some seven hundred coopers at work on flour barrels. About two hundred and fifty of these are 'journey-men' working for 'boss' coopers in three different shops. The remaining four hundred and fifty (more or less) are grouped in seven co-operative shops, which they own and manage themselves. Th system is indigenous. It has been developed by laboring men without any patronage, or preaching, or persuasive literature. It began a dozen years ago in the feeblest way, without friends or capital, and in the face of suspicion and distrust. It has won its way until two-thirds of the coopers have gone into co-operative movements. It has secured such State laws as it required, and it has credit and standing. Its moral effects are more marked and gratifying than its financial and industrial success. It develops manhood, responsibility, self-direction, and independence. . . . Co-operative building associations have had some degree of success here, and still greater in St. Paul. A good many of the co-operative coopers own houses, which they were able to build by virtue of membership in co-operative building associations."

III. Other Co-operative Forms.

The various forms of co-operative union between employer and employee are deservedly attracting attention at present. It is impossible to give statistics showing the extent to which such union prevails, but a few prominent and typical instances may properly be mentioned by way of illustration.

The employees of the publishers of the *New Yorker Staatszeitung*, and of the *Century* magazine have for some time shared in the profits of these remunerative enterprises, and the results are pronounced most satisfactory to all parties concerned. The proprietor of a third leading periodical, Mr. George W. Childs of the *Public Ledger*, shares profits with his men, but I am not aware that he has adopted any definite rule as to the proportion he gives them. He states plainly, however, that if he has any money to give away, he thinks those first to be remembered are the men who helped him to earn it. The compositors in the *Ledger* office receive considerably higher wages than the Union to which they belong demands. This Union, the International Typographical Union, is encouraged by Mr. Childs in various ways, as he sees no reason why his employees should not combine for their mutual benefit. The organized compositors of Philadelphia having received a plot of ground from him for use as a cemetery, now call it the Printers' Cemetery. In the summer of 1885 Mr. Childs invited the delegates to the annual convention of the International Typographical Union to pay him a visit in Philadelphia, where he entertained them handsomely. Mr. Childs has consequently been made a member of the local unions in Washington and Baltimore, as well as elsewhere, and in more than one lodge-room of the order his photograph is a highly prized ornament. It is

doubtful whether any other large employer of labor is so reverenced by his men as Mr. Childs by the printers.

Mr. Walter A. Wood of Hoosac Falls, N. Y., the president of the Walter A. Wood Mowing and Reaping Machine Company, has made it very easy for his employees to acquire stock in the company, and has in various other ways practically co-operated with his men, and is well pleased with the successful experiment. A few years ago it was stated in the Massachusetts Report on Labor that the Waltham Watch Company had likewise assisted its employees to acquire stock, and that with the most happy results.

A careful plan of profit sharing has been developed by Messrs. Charles A. Pillsbury & Co., merchant millers of Minneapolis, who politely write me as follows concerning their methods : —

"Three years since, we started the co-operative system in our mills by setting aside a percentage of our profits, which we divide among certain of our men. First, we include in the division every man who occupies an especially important position and trustworthy place in any of our mills or our office ; and, secondly, every man who has been in our employ for five years or over, no matter how menial his position. . . . We certainly have the most loyal set of employees in the world, and we think the money which we have thus set aside and paid out has been the best investment we ever made. We never have the least trouble on the question of labor. . . . We think the great success of our flour has been not so much that it is better than any other flour that can be found in the market, but from its great uniformity ; and this result it would be impossible to obtain without the most conscientious co-operation of our employees."

The Messrs. Pillsbury modestly refrain from offering for

publication any statement of the amount of profits distributed by them to their employees, but elsewhere it has been asserted that it was in the neighborhood of one hundred thousand dollars.

Co-operative insurance demands a few words in a survey of the field of co-operation, although it is not specifically a labor affair. All insurance is, in a certain sense, co-operation, for men practically agree to help one another in case of loss. It often happens that there is a go-between in the shape of a joint-stock corporation, which may raise the cost by extra charges, to cover the expense of dividends and salaries which are sometimes exorbitant. The mutual companies are a nearer approach to pure co-operation, inasmuch as any surplus, after expenses are defrayed, professes to be distributed among the insured. A reserve of large proportions is often accumulated, but if this is honest it is simply a guarantee, and is held in trust for the policy-holders, that is to say, those who are insured. The so-called co-operative insurance companies are generally, if not always, assessment companies. Definite payments are not required, but in case of death or loss, an assessment is levied on each member. It is well known that insurance is one of the chief lines of business to-day in all civilized communities. The number of companies which are called co-operative is also large, and a considerable part of their membership consists of working people. In the year 1883, one hundred and twenty co-operative companies reported to the insurance department of New York State. Their total assets were nearly two and a half millions of dollars, and their receipts from members, during the year, nearly eleven and a half millions. Many labor societies have insurance features connected with them, as, for example, the Knights of Labor. The insurance department of this organization has not long been

thoroughly organized, but it includes some six thousand members. There are also innumerable friendly societies in the United States which have insurance features on the mutual plan. Nearly all the negroes in Southern cities belong to one or more of these.

Another kind of insurance, and one which takes directly hold of the labor problem, is that occasionally provided through the medium of employers. The most remarkable instance is the Baltimore and Ohio Employees' Relief Association, which provides for accident, disability, death, and, in fact, nearly every contingency except lack of work. Its membership is between sixteen and seventeen thousand, and during the last fiscal year it distributed over two hundred and sixty thousand dollars in benefits. The Baltimore and Ohio Company contributes some thirty thousand dollars a year to the association. The work of this association is little appreciated among the employees who belong to it. For this there are several reasons. One is, that membership is compulsory on all who have entered the service of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company since the compulsory feature was announced, some three or four years ago. Second, the members renounce in advance all claims against the company in case of injury. Third, although the insurance is cheap, unsound associations offer insurances at such low rates that the men think it high. The men get back all they put in, and more too. Fourth, the company has, unhappily, a name as a hard master; and whatever it does is viewed with suspicion by its employees, even when, as in this case, there is little ground for anything but satisfaction. Fifth, a just cause for complaint is one which it is difficult to see a way to avoid altogether. The dependence of the men is increased; and, in case of discharge, much that has been paid is lost.

The Pennsylvania Railroad Company has introduced a similar plan of insurance, though the pronounced opposition of its employees has induced it to abandon the compulsory feature.

Careful thought and an examination of the subject in the light of European experience has at length convinced that it is doubtful whether it is desirable to encourage the insurance of laborers by their employers; and I say this with a full appreciation of the great good which the Baltimore and Ohio Association has accomplished. It can be too easily abused to enslave the employees of vast corporations, upon which there is already so large a measure of dependence as to endanger the free development of those who desire a livelihood in their service. It is better that insurance should be effected through the agency of ind pendent associations which do not impede freedom of movement.[1]

It is an unfortunate feature of co-operative or assessment life and accident insurance, that most people do not understand that the average man cannot take out more than he puts in. Insurance is simply a plan whereby men help one another; and all the benefits one member of the association receives must be paid by the insured. The superintendent of the insurance department of New York says truly, that it is impossible to understand how intelligent people can be duped by many of these co-operative insurance schemes which one meets on every hand. The superintendent has heard from men of good business reputation their statement

[1] It should be distinctly understood that this opinion is not based on my observation of the workings of the Baltimore and Ohio Relief Association; for I believe the employees of the Baltimore and Ohio Railway have been better treated since its existence than formerly; but permanent institutions must be judged apart from their present managers.

of "an implicit belief in a representation that, on the payment of a maximum amount of $250, they will receive shortly $2,500."

The result of this failure of the ordinary mind to understand the limitations of insurance is sad disappointment and vast loss. Misrepresentations are found in co-operative schemes, even in places where it would be little expected. A carpenter told me not long since that he insured in a co-operative and benevolent society connected with one of the largest sects in America. Though over thirty, he was told that he could be insured for $2,000 on payment of $7 per annum. There was an initiation fee, and assessment of $1 in case of death whenever the money was needed; but he was assured that there would not be over seven assessments annually. At the present time there are two and three a month. How serious and important a subject this is will be seen by the statement that a newspaper not long ago published a list of nearly five hundred failures among co-operative companies. There is doubtless a field for co-operation in insurance of every kind; but this entire business must be regulated by law, and in each State placed under the strictest control of an insurance department officered by skilled and experienced men. This is one of the cases where men can protect themselves only through the agency of that great co-operative institution we call the State.

Co-operative Credit.

There are few, if any, co-operative banks doing an ordinary banking business, but designed particularly for the working people of the United States. The large bank of the Grangers in California has been mentioned, and several other banks have at various times been established under

the auspices of the same order. Why banking institutions for working people should meet with remarkable success in Germany, doing an annual business which is estimated in hundreds of millions, while they have elsewhere attained no considerable proportions, is not quite clear; and such explanation as can be given would require more space than ought to be allowed therefor in this book. It is, however, noteworthy that each of the four countries where co-operation has attained immense proportions should be specially distinguished for success along one particular line, — namely, England for vast achievements in distributive co-operation, France for productive co-operation, Germany for banking through the co-operative credit unions, and the United States for the building associations, which will be described directly. Before leaving this topic, it is worth while to say, that there have been those who have strongly advocated the belief that the German co-operative union might be made a success among us. The late Josiah Quincy labored to establish them in Massachusetts, but did not succeed in inducing the State Legislature to pass a suitable law. I trust I may be pardoned for the personal allusion, if I state that after the publication of an article on co-operative credit unions five years ago, in the *Atlantic Monthly*, Mr. Quincy wrote to me, urging me to take up the work where advancing years compelled him to drop it.

The Building Association, it has been said, is the most successful form of co-operation in the United States. The institution is also known by other names, having formerly been called the Co-operative Saving Fund and Loan Association in Massachusetts. This name was changed to Co-operative Bank three years ago, simply for the sake of convenience. Both names are apt to mislead the uninitiated. The institution never constructs a building, nor does it con-

duct an ordinary banking business. It is an association of men designed primarily to aid one another in securing homes. The prospectus of the Co-operative Bank of Haverhill lies before me and gives a good idea of its scope in these lines, printed on one side as an advertisement : —

"Do you wish to purchase a house? Do you wish to pay off an existing mortgage? Do you wish to build a house? Do you wish to become your own landlord? Do you wish to save money? The Co-operative Bank will assist you in either case."

Below are two effective pictures. The first presents to the view a beautiful cottage, neat, well kept, surrounded by fine grounds. Beneath is the information, "The occupant of this house is paying for it through the Co-operative Bank." The second gives a view of a city tenement, blinds off the hinges, clothes flying on the housetop, and on the adjoining building the sign, "Wines and Liquors." Words printed below tell you that, "The occupant of this house has not yet heard of the Co-operative Bank." The first of these Building Associations was established at Frankford, a suburb of Philadelphia, in 1831, and bore the name of the Oxford Provident Building Association. The institution gradually became common in Philadelphia, and extended thence to the other States, but its greatest success outside of Pennsylvania appears to have been attained in Ohio, New Jersey, and Massachusetts.

The plan is a simple one in its outlines. A number of people associate themselves to form such a society, let us say two hundred. They meet monthly, and pay into the bank $1 each, or, all together, $200. Now this money is put up at auction, and lent to the one who pays the highest premium for it. Interest must be paid in addition at the legal rate; and security is exacted. This goes on month

after month, all the moneys available being auctioned off every month. Every one is a depositor or lender, and some are borrowers. The deposits are to pay for shares, usually $200 each. Now it is manifest that one dollar must be deposited once a month for two hundred months to pay for a share, if no account is taken of profits and interest, which, however, often reduce the time to ten years, and sometimes to eight or nine. The deposits must be made regularly until the shares taken are paid for. Let us suppose you take five shares, or $1000. You also borrow $1000 to enable you to build a house. By the time you have bought the shares, your credit equals your debt, and that is paid. The shares are said to have "matured." If you have borrowed no money, you receive $1000 in cash. Premiums, fines for dilatory payment, and interest all go to swell profits and to shorten the time during which the shares mature.

The career of these useful associations has been somewhat marred by many failures, owing to dishonesty and mismanagement; but in Pennsylvania experience has taught the people how to manage them with a fair degree of safety; and in Massachusetts good laws and the watchfulness and supervision of the bank commissioners have placed them on a secure footing. The large achievements of the Building Associations are indicated by this "fact about co-operation," taken from the Haverhill *Prospectus*, already mentioned: —

"Philadelphia has 600 Building Associations, with a capital of $80,000,000, and a membership of 75,000. The entire State of Pennsylvania has about 1,800 associations."

The bank commissioners of Massachusetts enumerate twenty-six co-operative banks in that State, with 10,294 members, 2,018 borrowers, $1,971,923.20 in assets, an increase of $500,660.77 from the preceding year. The reports for several years indicate a healthy condition of the banks,

and in the report for 1884 the commissioners say, "These banks have generally enjoyed a prosperous year."

Six years ago it was officially stated that 60,000 comfortable houses had been constructed in Philadelphia alone through the aid derived from the Building Associations, and it is certain that Mr. Barnard did not exaggerate when he entitled the chapter describing them, in his book on Co-operation as a Business, "One hundred thousand homes."

IV. Past Failures and Future Possibilities.

Before we pass over to the subject of failures in co-operation, it is important to emphasize a fact which the preceding pages in this chapter have already made apparent; namely, that a large measure of success has attended co-operation in the United States. When we sweep over the entire field with any care, we find various kinds of co-operation representing in the aggregate annual transactions which may safely be estimated at over two hundred millions of dollars. Part of this co-operative effort has but an indirect bearing on the labor problem, but it all indicates and measures a general movement, and is undoubtedly of vast significance. We may then draw this general conclusion: co-operation has by no means been a total failure in the United States; on the contrary a large measure of success has been attained; and the co-operative movement in America was never so truly a live, vigorous force, full of promise, as it is to-day.

Yet the ground is strewn with the fragments of wrecks. Large loss, pinching poverty, the disappointment of ardent hope and joyous enthusiasm, the frequent abandonment of all efforts to obtain improved industrial methods, and a sullen acceptance of old conditions as unalterable — all

these have, from the start, attended the course of co-operation in the United States. Even when co-operative enterprises have succeeded, there has, as a rule, not been that large outpouring of good things as a result, which people anticipated.

What have been the causes of failure? They have been partly within the control of the laborer, partly beyond his control.

First, the fact is to be noticed that co-operation generally accompanies the progress of some labor organization. Now, those with us who ought to have assisted the general labor-movement, to have brought to it intelligence and business skill, and infused it with high Christian purpose, have too often stood aloof from it, even when they have not been positively hostile to it. I must repeat here what I have said elsewhere: it is my deliberate opinion that in no country in the civilized world have the laborers, as such, been so isolated as in the large industrial centres of the United States. Both in Germany and in England, many of the most brilliant and renowned and highest-minded men of our times have been heart and soul with the laborers in all their aspirations and struggles. Such has not been the case in the United States.

Several consequences have followed the isolation of the laboring classes. Legislators have given so little intelligent attention to their needs, that it is only rarely that suitable laws are found in our States, under which co-operative institutions can organize and conduct business. This has been a frequent cause of complaint. Thus the commissioner of the Bureau of Labor Statistics of Ohio says, on page 9 of his Report for 1879: —

"Unfortunately there is no law under which such associations can organize with the distinctive idea of co-operation,

which is, that each member of such association shall have one vote and no more without reference to the number of shares held."

A member of the Co-operative Board of the Knights of Labor told me recently that a difficulty encountered in Maryland was the absence of suitable laws, while General Mussey, who took an honorable part in the co-operative movement inaugurated by the Sovereigns of Industry, entered a like complaint with respect to the laws of the District of Columbia.

As important as this is, it is nevertheless a minor matter. The absence of the participation of truly great minds in the American labor movement has kept it on a lower ethical plane with us than in England. The life of any industrial body or any movement comes from its indwelling spirit, and the chief element in successful co-operation must be invisible, intangible qualities, such as devotion, self-sacrifice, patience in the pursuit of good ends, high purpose, a noble *esprit de corps* such as shall make the maxim, "one for all, all for one," a living reality. In short, if co-operation is to succeed as a practical application of Christianity to business, there must be breathed into it a spirit of Christian consecration. A Congregational clergyman, not unknown in Western Massachusetts, recently wrote me as follows concerning his intention to join the Knights of Labor: —

"I am convinced that it is a duty as well as a privilege to join the order. . . . The problem, as doctors of divinity tell us, is, how to get the masses into the Church. I think a better statement of the problem is, how to get the Church into the masses. The Church is the leaven, the masses are the meal. You cannot put a barrel of flour into a bottle of yeast. You can put a bottle of yeast into a barrel of flour, and with some result too."

Such a spirit as this has, unfortunately, not been so general in the past as might be desired. Other obstacles in the way of the success of co-operation are these: unsteady employment, roving habits, the heterogeneous character of our population — all preventing that consolidation and amalgamation of the masses which co-operation requires. As it is, men do not sufficiently know one another, and are not sufficiently attached to one another.

The multiplicity of openings for the gifted and fortunate has been a further difficulty with which co-operation has had to contend. In older countries a great deal of talent has been found among the laboring classes ready to assist in co-operative enterprises. Those members of the working class in America, whose help is most needed among those with whom their early associations have been cast, have often, perhaps generally, left their early position for a higher one — at any rate, for one which they thought higher and more attractive; and too often they have been willing to ignore their old friends and neighbors. Our current forms of philanthropy have had a similar effect. Their general aim is too often to raise some one from a class into which he has been born, into a higher one, and that, of course, to the injury of the masses. The result is that innumerable doctors and lawyers are struggling for a practice, and many clergymen are preaching to indifferent congregations, who might have promoted the welfare of the masses as shoemakers, carpenters, and masons. The fact has been overlooked that you injure the mechanics of a town when by artificial means you encourage the ten best men among them to leave their old occupations.[1] What is needed is

[1] It is hoped that this will not be misunderstood. Those of unusual talents ought to be assisted. A Grand Duke of Germany observed artistic genius in a kitchen boy in his palace and educated him. He is now one of the foremost sculptors of Germany. Cases like this are rare.

philanthropic effort designed to benefit the laborer as a laborer, the farmer as a farmer, the mechanic as a mechanic.

These many openings for men of ability, and the large returns on capital, have rendered men indifferent to the small savings which co-operators in old countries consider ample reward for their labor and sacrifices. Americans have been too indifferent to small economies. This is seen everywhere, and a striking example is the administration of cities. Men of large property have deliberately declared that they could better afford to bear the burden of municipal corruption in New York than to give their time to the duties of citizenship.

The masses generally are poor financiers, and especially poor bookkeepers. This is a frequent cause of ruin which gifted and devoted men might avert. Frequently all that a co-operative concern needs to make it a complete success, is merely a little friendly counsel by the right man at the right time. The counsel has not been forthcoming, owing to the already mentioned isolation of the laborers. A lack of sufficient capital often ruins a promising co-operative business. Here the remedy is obvious. Capital is abundant, in the eastern part of the United States, at least, and well-disposed men of means can, if they will, find opportunities to help laboring men to help themselves, while at the same time receiving a return on their investments.

Venality and corruption among the masses have often ruined co-operative enterprises. The remedy suggests itself, namely, a higher ethical development of the masses; and those labor-leaders who are hostile to the Christian religion would do well to ask themselves whether any other force than Christianity can supply the training in practical ethics which is to-day the greatest need of the labor movement. Co-operation must become a religion before it can succeed

in its aim, which is the reconstruction of society. The chief cause of success in Great Britain is due to the nearness with which it has there approached the character of a true religion.

The need of superior character on the part of co-operators is even more indispensable as a condition of success, than on the part of those who participate in other forms of the labor movement; for, as Brentano has so well pointed out, co-operation is adapted to those who intellectually belong to the great average mass, but who, in their moral natures, are far above the average.

Another obstacle to the success of co-operation has been the want of a tie to connect various co-operative enterprises. In England, co-operation did not become a decided success until a central board was formed, and men like Thomas Hughes and E. Vansittart Neale were given positions of influence in it. The co-operative credit-banks in Germany have become a great power because they always acted unitedly under their able founder, Schultze Delitzsch, a man of university training and of experience both in the law and in legislation. Through these central agencies, past experience has been utilized; and an occasional hint or warning from the central office, and consultation at annual congresses have enabled the local societies to avoid the rock on which others have made shipwreck. There has been little utilization of previous experience in the United States, for co-operative enterprises have been too scattered and irregular, and one after another they have continued to repeat the same mistakes, though three-fourths of them have probably been avoidable.[1]

[1] Recent publications of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor, have in view the utilization of past experience. The Sociologic Society of America, whose President is Mrs. Imogene C. Fales, has

One large field for co-operation in the United States is to be found in the coal regions. Here we find a comparatively homogeneous population, and the inhabitants living in close proximity to one another. We also find high prices paid for poor goods, and a general deficiency in the supply of means of distribution. Yet there is little co-operation among the miners. What is the reason? The oppressive and generally illegal truck system is the answer. Corporations force their men to buy at the "company stores." Here is a place where the strong arm of the law ought to be exercised with vigor.

As a rule, however, outside of the regions of monopoly, profits are not large, either in production or in distribution. This is a point in regard to which people deceive themselves. If the laboring men could put the entire profits of their grocer into their own pockets, they would, in many towns, be greatly disappointed in the smallness of the addition to their resources. Sometimes there is no profit at all. When the profits are great, it is probable that they are the results of large transactions. If a co-operative store is established, it will frequently be discovered that it is not possible to distribute goods without profits so cheaply as some old-established dealer after his profits have been added, since the latter gains only the savings due to extraordinary skill, diligence, and long experience. I do not mean that this is always the case, but it is a description of what often happens.

Let us turn our attention to an illustration taken from a productive establishment. It is said that sixty thousand dollars invested in a shoe factory will employ two hundred men. If profits are ten per cent, the owner obtains six

established a Co-operative Board which offers information to those who desire to start co-operative enterprises. The Chairman of the Board is Samuel Whittles, Jr., 11 Ferry Street, Fall River, Mass.

thousand dollars a year from the business. If the employer labors for nothing, and distributes the entire proceeds among the men, it will amount to only thirty dollars per annum for each. If for each man in a foundry a capital of one thousand dollars is required, and profits are still ten per cent, that would be one hundred dollars for each employee. These profits are by no means to be despised, but they are not so large for each laborer as is often imagined. The large accumulations of employers, and their handsome incomes, are frequently derived from small profits on the work of each employee. The aggregate is large, because production is carried on on a vast scale. The income of a man who derives five cents a day from two thousand men is one hundred dollars a day. It must likewise be remembered that it is nothing uncommon to find manufacturers who have for some time derived no profits from their enterprise, or who have even worked at a loss. When laborers start co-operative concerns, there is danger that neglect of small economies will dissipate all gains. On the other hand, there are superior advantages in well-conducted, well-disciplined co-operative enterprises, such as greater energy, watchfulness, thought, prudence, on the part of the workingmen.

Are the advocates of co-operation wrong when they point to the enormous expenditures and terrible wastefulness of our present economic system? The commissioner of the Ohio Bureau of Labor Statistics, in his report for 1878, estimated the annual cost of distributing the products of industry within the State at fifty millions of dollars. Was it an error on his part to imply that a large portion of this expenditure was waste? By no means; nor are co-operators in error when they claim that co-operation might save enough to bring comfort to all people in the United States. But how can this be effected? We must inquire into the

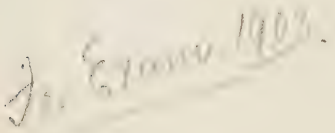
nature of the waste before we can return a satisfactory answer.

This needless expenditure of economic resources, or labor-force and capital-force, is the result of competition. Three men are engaged in the distribution of groceries and dry-goods where one might answer all needs. Twice as many men, horses, and wagons are engaged in the distribution of milk in a city as would be required if the business of supplying milk were organized, and different routes assigned to each man, so that four or five milkmen would not supply customers on each block, which must occasion a vast amount of travel to no purpose. The postoffice is a familiar illustration. Let one think of the great additional cost if each letter-carrier picked up indiscriminately an armful of unassorted letters and delivered them. Yet this is much like the methods of competition. In all this the advocates of co-operation are quite right. But how can this waste of competition be avoided? Only by a vast national organization of co-operative industry, both in production and in distribution. This organization must be vast and powerful enough to exercise a controlling influence in industry, and repress competition and its wastes, or, at any rate, competition wherever and whenever it is excessively wasteful. In no other possible way can co-operation accomplish those ends which its adherents have prophesied it would bring to pass. But this is not all. There are certain fundamental and primary conditions of economic activity. Why grow corn if you cannot get it to market? Why manufacture steel plows if you cannot ship them to the consumer? Why engage in business if your rival receives transportation at lower rates than you? Your failure is only a matter of time, struggle as hard as you may. Away back of ordinary business enterprises, behind the energy and skill of the industri

ous, there are governing, indispensable forces, whose control is not and never can be in the hands of the private individual. Suitable harbors, highways, bridges, the proper regulation and improvement of rivers, the establishment of the conditions of public health by quarantine and other sanitary arrangements, — all fall within this category. But the most important of them all for our present purposes is the railway. Herein lies the essence of the railway problem. Men are working with a halter about their necks, and the railway power holds the end of the rope. If it tightens its hold, the victim dies. I know to-day a co-operative coal mine which is on this account gasping for breath.

Professor E. J. James is, then, quite right in his utterance: "No system of co-operation or profit-sharing can succeed until it is possible to make some estimate of the railroad tax, which is in many cases destructive, no less by its amount than by its uncertainty." The Knights of Labor are also proceeding with a clear perception of the nature of the conditions which surround them when, with the proclamation of their desire to organize co-operative production on a vast scale, they couple the demand for a reconstruction of our railway system.

In the meantime, while waiting for a more fortunate basis on which to operate, it is well to encourage every attempt of working people and of others to co-operate. It is a training, a sowing of seed; and even now, under favorable circumstances, co-operation can accomplish much good. We must not turn aside from small economies, nor must we be so ready, as heretofore, to despise the day of small things.



CHAPTER VIII.

THE BEGINNINGS OF MODERN SOCIALISM IN AMERICA

THERE are in the United States three distinct parties of socialists, which may be called revolutionary, since they each aim at an overthrow of existing economic and social institutions, and the substitution therefor of radically different forms. These three parties are known as the Socialistic Labor Party, the International Working People's Association, and the International Workmen's Association, and are usually designated by their respective initials, S. L. P., I. W. P. A., and I. W. A. One sees these initials continually in their publications, and upon them incessant repetition seems to have conferred in the minds of socialists a peculiar cabalistic quality. Each of the International parties has chosen a color, by which it is sometimes called. The color of the International Working People's Association is black, and one hears occasionally of the "Black International," [1] while the International Workmen's Association prefers red, and those belonging to it like to be known as the "Reds."

The effort was once made by John Most, to bring into use the term the "Blues," as the designation of the members of the Socialistic Labor Party. This was intended as a reproach to them on account of their conservatism, but the name has never been generally received.

[1] This expression was used originally by Bismarck, as a name for the Roman Catholic Party of Germany.

It may be well to devote a few words to the general characteristics of these parties, and to a short account of their origin, before passing over to a more detailed description of each. These parties differ in most important particulars, although they agree upon certain fundamental propositions. Their divergence is, first and foremost, one of method. Both the "Black" and the "Red" Internationalists are men of violence, believing in the use of dynamite and like weapons of warfare, as means of attaining their purposes; while the adherents of the Socialistic Labor Party condemn these tactics, and some of them have not renounced all hope of a peaceful revolution of society. The next difference which attracts attention is one of character. The Socialistic Labor Party is composed of men of better balanced minds, and, it has always seemed to me, of better training than those who comprise the other parties.[1] The Internationalists cannot be denied a certain keenness of perception, but they are narrow and fanatical. They see clearly within a certain range of ideas, but the moment they are drawn without the limited circle with which they are familiar, they are like men blind from birth. The zeal and devotion with which they pursue their ends are remarkable, and may be explained by their very narrowness. All their intellect and all the force of their moral natures are concentrated on their cause. If the members of the more moderate Socialistic Labor Party are somewhat less earnest, they are broader in their conceptions and more capable of understanding the opinions of those with whom they differ. For

[1] The Internationalists deny strenuously that the moderate socialists are better educated, and one who ought to know better than I told me once that the Internationalists had all the brains. They have able adherents in Europe, like Elisée Reclus and Prince Krapotkine, but I still think that my original judgment is correct for our country.

this reason among others, they adopt a more refined tone and have less sympathy with indiscriminate abuse of all who uphold existing institutions. It is largely due to this diversity of method and of personal qualities that the members of the three parties have found it impossible to act harmoniously together, and that the Socialistic Labor Party is at present at sword's points with the Internationalists. There are also important differences of doctrine; but these, as more complicated, will be described in the detailed treatment of the parties.

The points of agreement are, as has been said, fundamental, and it is well at the start to clear away a misapprehension which exists in the minds of many by mentioning a negative particular, in which all socialists agree. It seems, indeed, to be necessary to begin every article, monograph or book, on the theory of socialism, by the statement that no one advocates or even desires an equal division of productive property. What they wish is a concentration of all the means of production in the property of the people as a whole, and the distribution of the income, that is, of the products only, either equally or unequally, according to the views entertained of what is just and expedient. It is proposed to abolish private property in the instruments of production, not, however, in income so far as this consists simply of articles of use and enjoyment which cannot serve as a basis of further production.

Another negative in which all socialists agree is this: None of them wish to abolish capital, and he who tries to convince them of the utility of capital, renders himself ridiculous to them. What they desire is to do away with a distinct class of capitalists, and in this they agree with co-operators, although they propose to obtain their end by a very different course. Positive points of agreement are these, — all social-

ists advocate the use of the best machinery, all favor the most improved methods of production, and all desire to organize production on a vast international basis. The programme of American socialism, then, includes primarily the substitution of some form of exclusive co-operation in production and exchange, for the present leadership of "Captains of industry" in production and exchange, or capitalistic system, as it is termed, and the abolition of private property in land and capital, to make room for common property in the instruments of production. In other words, all our socialistic parties regarding the wage-receiver as practically a slave, desire the advent of a time when co-operators shall take the place both of industrial master and industrial subordinate. All wish to abolish the possibility of idleness, and to make of universal application the maxim: "He that will not work, neither shall he eat." The leaders of these parties are materialists, though the materialism of the Socialistic Labor Party[1] is less gross than that of the Internationalists. Having abandoned hope of a happy hereafter in which the poor, but honest and God-fearing, laborer shall find rich reward for all toil and suffering patiently borne, they have determined to enjoy this life, and, as it is not an easy thing to believe that there is no blessedness in the universe, they imagine this earth designed to be a paradise. They talk of its beauties and of the soul-satisfying delights of life, from all of which they are needlessly debarred, not so much, say the moderates, by any wilful conspiracy of the rich, as by the failure of man to

[1] A member of this party — the Socialistic Labor Party — comments as follows on their materialism: "Not to be understood in the pure sense of the word, better monism as taught by Darwin, Hæckel, Kant, and Spinoza, the world being a whole, and all forces being in contact."

perceive that the time has come for a complete reconstruction of industrial society.

It is interesting to notice the general view all modern socialists take of society as a growth. Each social form is regarded as an era in the development of society; useful in its time, but after awhile becoming antiquated, it must give way to an advanced organism. Slavery, serfdom, and wages were not unjustifiable, they hold; but the Internationalists and moderates think that these institutions have all had their day, have fulfilled their purpose, and are no longer needed among the nations of civilization, though there may still be regions where they are not yet antiquated.[1] "We do not deny," says one of these socialists, "that there are countries that have not yet outlived the wage-system; but we have certainly outlived it in the United States, and cannot safely continue it."[2] Socialism is, then, coming just as the leaves are coming in spring, and just as these will be followed by bloom and fruitage. It is not of human willing, but as inevitable and necessary as the law of gravitation. All that the more sensible among them profess to be able to do, is to guide and direct the mighty forces of nature, which manifest themselves in social revolutions and convulsions. Thus it was natural that the resolutions presented to the meeting of Anarchists held in Chicago, on Thanksgiving day of 1884, should begin, "Whereas, we have *outlived* the usefulness of the wage and property system, that it now and must hereafter cramp, limit, and punish[3] all increase of production, and

[1] This is the explanation of one of the socialists: "Socialists at large consider capitalism a necessary means for reaching a higher level of civilization. Socialism cannot be established without developed capitalism, the value of which consists in introducing and perfecting the 'Great-Production.'"

[2] V. *The Alarm*, Dec. 6, 1884. Article, *Co-operation.*

[3] The author gives his quotations *verbatim et literatim*, making no attempt to improve style or grammar.

can *no longer* gratify the necessities, rights, and ambitions of man," etc.

It may be stated that in general the teachings of Carl Marx are accepted by both parties, and his work on capital ("Das Kapital") is still the Bible of the socialists.[1] This work has not as yet been translated into English, although a translation is announced for the near future; but extracts from it have been turned into our tongue and published; and brochures, pamphlets, newspapers, and verbal expositions have extended his doctrines, while H. M. Hyndman has expounded the views of the great teacher in his "Historical Basis of Socialism" in England.

In this country a young enthusiast, Laurence Gronlund, a lawyer of Philadelphia, has written a recently published work, entitled "The Co-operative Commonwealth," designed to present the socialism of Marx, as it appears after it has been digested, to use the author's words, "by a mind Anglo-Saxon in its dislike of all extravagances, and in its freedom from any vindictive feeling against *persons* who are from circumstances what they are."

The use of the red flag, and also of the color red in other forms, as an emblem of their faith, is common to socialists the world over. What does it mean? The reply can be best given in the following quotations, which have been gathered together from various sources.

The red flag. — "The emblem of the universal brotherhood of man."

[1] Recently one of their papers, the *New Yorker Volkszeitung*, protested against this epithet as applied to the work of Marx, as it was not desired that any book should be regarded in the light of an infallible guide. It was feared that this would hinder progress. Yet the term describes better than anything else the actual feeling towards "Das Kapital," and among the more ignorant socialists reverence for a great leader has ere this approached idolatry.

It is "the symbol of the frequently shed blood of the proletariat, and at the same time the sign of the salvation of the suffering and starving people." — *Vorbote* of Chicago, Sept. 9, 1885.

"The red flag signifies the gospel Paul preached on Mars Hill, that God had made of one blood all nations, and that it is the banner of one blood, the emblem of fraternity." — *First Report of the Kansas Bureau of Statistics of Labor*, p. 100.

"It may be said that the color red, which for decorative purposes is capable of magnificent effects, represents to French workmen not, as some have absurdly said, violence in any way, but the peaceful republic of industry." — Frederic Harrison in the *Fortnightly Review*, vol. 23, New Series (1878).

"The red flag is the symbol of blood shed by the people for liberty. Adopted by socialists of all countries, it represents the unity and fraternity of the races of men, while the national banners represent hostility and war between the different States." — In the Preamble adopted by the English Internationalists in 1873. Quoted from Professor de Laveleye's "Socialism of To-day," p. 210.

It is thus seen that the red flag in itself is innocent. It may be in the minds of some as devoid of any intent to do wrong as a Sunday-school banner. On the other hand, if used as a flag of actual rebels, it may be terrible indeed. There is no reason why it should alarm people in time of peace. It is with the red flag as it is with the English flag. It would to-day give no anxiety to see a man unfurl a British flag in New York; possibly one year from to-day it would cost him his life.

It is difficult and perhaps impossible to trace out the first germs of Revolutionary Socialism in America, although it is

certain that it is not descended from early American communism, to which it has little resemblance. The influence of the later movement on the earlier, has, however, been more perceptible, but even that has been comparatively slight. The first cause of the recent acceptance of socialism by parties of workingmen in America must be sought in the economic conditions of the country, for no theory of society ever found adherents enough to attract the general notice of the public, which did not have some close connection with the historical facts of the period. The phenomena must have existed to give rise to those generalizations, which, taken together, constituted the theory of society in question. True, these phenomena may have been unnaturally separated from other unseen phenomena, and their true import may have been sadly misunderstood; some faulty classification and over-hasty and otherwise imperfect generalizations may have led to erroneous conclusions, and mistaken or even criminal actions; nevertheless, it holds true, that no philosophical or social system can be understood without an examination of the life of the people among whom it arose, and of the times when it gained adherents.

Socialism has begun to excite alarm in America, and its advocates are found in all parts of the country; but it is a gross mistake to treat it as a purely artificial or imported product. It could make no headway until the march of industrial forces had opened the way for the operation of ideas, new and strange to the great masses. What the nature of the progress of these forces was, is well known. A wonderful epoch of discovery and invention had brought to the service of man the mighty powers of nature in such manner as to accomplish results surpassing the dreams of enthusiasts and the operations of the magician's wand in the fairy tale. This ushered in a period of unparalleled increase

of wealth which was sufficient to transform the face of the earth in a single generation, and its magnificent fruits made optimists of men.

But all the products of the age were not beneficent. The new ways required a displacement and readjustment of labor and capital, under which many suffered greviously. Doubtless progress led to the common good "in the end," as people say, but many perished in the way before the end was reached. Much capital which could not be withdrawn from its old use, was lost, to the impoverishment of its owners. To take a single concrete example, let one think of the inns which fifty years ago flourished along the great mail and stage routes. How many were ruined in the improvements which George Stephenson and his locomotive have finally made a daily necessity? Again, advanced processes and labor-saving machinery frequently throw men entirely out of employment, though after a time the demand for laborers may increase immensely, as has occurred in the case of spinning and weaving. Quite as serious in its ultimate consequences is the fact that acquired skill was so often rendered superfluous. A few rose to great wealth, but the masses knew what the newspapers did not chronicle, namely, the fall of many small producers and once-skilled artisans to the condition of laborers.[1] Great good comes to many as the result of progress, for if the picture is not so bright as some imagine, it is not so dark as others are often inclined

[1] I have seen it stated that the number of servants and other employees in the United States has increased three times as rapidly as the population. There are no statistics which could be relied upon to give us the exact data, and I have not at hand those which would enable me to form even an approximate estimate. The subject deserves attention, and I simply give the statement for what it is worth without my indorsement.

to think; but even those who gained, frequently suffered temporarily.

For the time being men suffer, and the time being is an important factor to men who live from hand to mouth, as is the case with a great part of mankind. Those who suffered, often complained bitterly, and at times uttered dire threats which were occasionally executed in part at least. All this has long been a familiar fact in Europe. From the termination of the Napoleonic wars till the discovery of gold in California and Australia, was a period of distress in England, and what Sismondi saw in the crisis of 1819, when on a visit to that country, produced such an effect upon him that he felt compelled to throw overboard the political economy of Adam Smith, to which he had previously adhered, and to write his "Nouveaux Principes d'Economie Politique." The example of England is not an isolated one.

In the United States, however, there was abundance of fertile, unoccupied land on every side, and the undeveloped resources of the country were boundless, both in extent and in their potentialities for the production of wealth. While some suffered doubtless, they were comparatively few, and the tremendous strides with which America was advancing in power and prosperity, caused them generally to be overlooked. The bloom and fruitage of the age regarded from a materialistic, economic standpoint seemed almost wholly beneficent, and Americans, as a rule, were optimists. But a change was impending. A severe crisis in 1873, with all its train of varied disasters, checked economic progress, and brought the crushing weight of poverty upon tens of thousands. This was not the first industrial crash in America, to be sure, but it is doubtful whether any other followed on an era of such prosperity.

Then the wealth of a few had increased enormously dur-

ing the Civil War, while luxury, such as had scarce entered the day-dreams of our fathers, extended itself over the land. Never before had there been seen in America such contrasts between fabulous wealth and absolute penury. Population was denser, and there was not exactly the same freedom, the same ease of movement. In short, from one cause and another, in many quarters bright visions gave place to gloomy forebodings, and thus Americans were better prepared than ever before to listen to those who advocated the most radical social reconstruction, and repudiated the reforms of trades-unionists and others who desired only an improvement of existing institutions. It is now left to inquire who sowed the seeds of socialism, which have sprung up, or are even now sprouting and sending forth shoots below the surface.

The socialism of to-day may be said to date from the European revolutions of 1848,[1] all of which soon terminated disastrously for the people as opposed to their rulers. Many German refugees sought our shores, and some of them were ardent socialists and communists, who endeavored to propagate their ideas. Wilhelm Weitling, a tailor, born in Magdeburg in 1808, was prominent among these. Weitling visited France and Switzerland as a journeyman, during his "Wanderjahre," and became acquainted with the doctrines of the French communists. German as he was, it was natural that he should revise the work of his predecessors, and strip French communism of its fantastic garb before presenting it, as he soon did, to his countrymen in various works.[2] It was

[1] My book, "French and German Socialism in Modern Times," carries socialism back to the French Revolution of the last century, but the earlier socialistic movements therein described are already regarded as defunct.

[2] "Das Evangelium des armen Sünders." Bern, 1841; "Garantien der Harmonie und Freiheit." Vivis, 1842; "Die Menscheit, wie sie ist und wie sie sein sollte." Bern, 1843.

thus that Weitling, who is occasionally called the "Father of German Communism," became one of the first to scatter those seeds of economic radicalism which have brought forth such large increase in the social democracy of our own times. The Swiss and German authorities could not forego the temptation to make a martyr of Weitling, and he was thrown into prison in both countries. His last imprisonment was in Germany, and he was given his freedom on condition that he should emigrate to America,[1] which he accordingly did. Weitling founded a workingman's society in New York not long after his arrival, which was called the Arbeiterbund, with headquarters in Beekman Street. A newspaper was published by these men for three or four years, called *Die Republik der Arbeiter*. Associated with Weitling at this time was Dr. Edmund Ignatz Koch, a man who was active in the European revolutionary days just passed, and who had brought with him to the United States, if my memory serves me correctly, a thousand copies of one of the works of the French communist, Blanqui. It was the intention of the Arbeiterbund to establish a communistic settlement in Wisconsin, but internal dissensions prevented the execution of this plan. Weitling, however, was for a short time connected with a colony of communists in Clayton County, Iowa, which had been formed by Henry Koch, an ardent disciple of Fourier, and an admirer of Albert Brisbane and Horace Greeley.[2] Weitling finally abandoned his

[1] The date of his liberation on this condition is given as 1845 in a newspaper article which lies before me. Elsewhere it is stated that he was among those who left Germany after the events of 1848. However this may be, the emigrants who fled after the latter year first gave him a favorable opportunity to continue his propaganda in America.

[2] Henry Koch's career is one common among German Americans. Born in Baireuth in 1800, he learned the trade of watchmaker, and

communistic ideas, and devoted himself to his trade, to inventions designed to improve the sewing-machine, and to astronomical studies as a recreation.

It is said that he invented several valuable contrivances, especially one for making button-holes, which were, however, all stolen from him. His efforts to protect his rights involved him in lawsuits which consumed what little property he had. His death took place in 1871.

Another one of these refugees was Weydemeyer, a friend and disciple of Carl Marx, in the dissemination of whose views he was aided by H. Meyer, a German merchant.[1] Weydemeyer served with distinction in the Union Army during the late war, and after its close was elected auditor of St. Louis, where he died.

The first large society to adopt and propagate socialism in America was composed of the German Gymnastic Unions (Turnvereine). The Socialistic Turnverein of New York drew up a constitution for an association, to be composed of the various local gymnastic unions, and published it in 1850. A preliminary gathering of a few delegates was held in New York in the Shakespeare Hotel, then the headquarters of "progressive" elements among the Germans.[2] It was finally decided to call a meeting of delegates, to be held in Philadelphia, on Oct. 5 of the same year, to effect a perma-

followed it in his native town until participation in politics of too radical a character brought him to prison. After his release he came to America, landing in Baltimore in 1832. He spent most of his life in Dubuque, where he was much liked, especially among the children, who called him "Papa Koch." He served as captain in the Mexican War. His death occurred in 1879.

[1] For several of these data I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. F. A. Sorge of Hoboken, N.J.

[2] It was kept by Joseph Fickler, a refugee from Baden, who was prominent in 1848.

nent organization. Several Turnvereine acted on the suggestion, and among others, delegates were present from New York, Boston, and Baltimore. The first name adopted was "Associated Gymnastic Unions of North America" (Vereinegte Turnvereine Nordamerikas), which was, however, changed the following year to "Socialistic Gymnastic Union" (Socialistischer Turnerbund). The platform adopted proclaimed the promotion of socialism and the support of the social democratic party to be its chief purpose. The education of the mind was to accompany the training of the body, that the whole man might be developed in accordance with the maxim, *mens sana in corpore sano;* and this idea has always been prominent among the members of this society in America. The intention at first seems to have been to prepare men to return to Germany, and take part in the struggles for liberty which they thought would ere long begin again. The number of local gymnastic unions in America, in 1851, so far as known, was seventeen; of which the three largest were the Baltimore Social Democratic Turnverein with 278 members, the Cincinnati Turngemeinde with 222 members, and the New York Socialistic Turnverein with 128. A monthly organ was published, called the *Turnzeitung*. The Turnerbund continued to grow slowly in strength until the Civil War, although internal dissensions divided it for a few years into two sections. As might be expected, it supported, first, the free soil movement, then the Republican party, for it was always found on the side of freedom. As a consequence its members were obliged to contend with the opposition to abolitionism added to a wide-spread hatred of foreigners. They were time and time again attacked by rowdies who, in Philadelphia, were even assisted by the police. However, they generally protected themselves vigorously against assault, and on several occasions used their arms.

A number of the Turners were indicted in Philadelphia, but were not brought to trial, as the authorities concluded that it was best to let the matter drop. In 1855, the Turners were again attacked by the rowdies and loafers of Columbus, and several were wounded; but they turned their firearms against their enemies, and one of them paid the penalty for his rashness with his life. Nineteen Turners were tried for assault with intent to kill, but were found not guilty. The Cincinnati Turngemeinde and the unions in Newport and Covington, Ky., held a celebration in May, 1856, in Covington, and were attacked by a mob armed with clubs, stones, and slungshots; and among the assailants were a police marshal and deputy marshal, both of whom were wounded, together with others on both sides. One hundred and seven Turners were arrested, and thirty-five indicted by the grand jury and tried; but again all were pronounced innocent.

The beginning of the Civil War offered the Turnerbund the opportunity they desired, to earn a good name for themselves and for their fellow-countrymen. The Turners from every quarter responded to Lincoln's call for troops, some of the unions sending more than half their members. In New York they organized a complete regiment in a few days, and in many places they sent one or more companies. There were three companies in the First Missouri Regiment, while the Seventeenth consisted almost altogether of Turners. The Turners of Leavenworth and Cincinnati also deserve honorable mention. It is estimated that from forty to fifty per cent of all Turners capable of bearing arms took part in the war. Prominent among them was General Franz Sigel. This depletion of the local unions suspended all activities on the part of the socialistic Turnerbund, until the close of the war, when it

was reorganized under the name of the North American Gymnastic Union (Nordamerikanischer Turnerbund). It now numbers about 22,000 members, owns property valued at $2,409,375,[1] including 140 gymnasiums (Turnhallen), and instructs over 16,000 boys and girls in schools, and supports in Milwaukee the best school for training teachers of gymnastics in the United States. The Turnerbund is no longer nominally socialistic; but it recommends the careful study of social questions, and has adopted resolutions in favor of radical reforms. In its platform the aims of the Board are stated to be these: the development of men strong in mind and body, and the development of a true democracy. In accordance with its general conservative character[2] it declares that social, religious, and political reforms can only be secured by the spread of education and morality.

The sovereignty of the people is declared to be inalienable, and reforms are recommended which aim to realize this doctrine, "As everything is for the people, everything should happen through the people." Many of the political changes recommended, aim at the introduction of Swiss democratic institutions among us; in particular, the replacement of Senate and President by a Federal council. The recall of legislators by the people is further recommended, and also the abolition of all complicated modes of representation and artificial delegation of power.

The general convention likewise recommends, "the protection of labor against spoliation, and the adoption of means to secure to it its real product; the sanitary protection of citizens by control over factories, by protection against adulteration of food, and sanitary inspection of

[1] These statistics are all taken from the report of 1885.

[2] I mean, that it advocates the attainment of radical reforms only by conservative methods.

houses." Further, "the right of the several States to adopt laws or to take measures which conflict with the spirit of the Constitution of the United States, especially such as relate to the liberty of the press, to religious affairs, or to the right of assembly, should be abolished." Child labor is condemned. Debates and lectures are held to improve the mind, and to educate the people to a comprehension of the true nature of the topics of the day. One question recommended for discussion is, "whether or not a shortening of the hours of labor, and the establishment by law of a normal working day, are effective means of ameliorating social disorders."

A Club of Communists was founded in New York in 1857, by Germans, mostly refugees; and in June of the following year its members instituted a celebration to commemorate the insurrection in Paris, in June, 1848. Several thousand men and women of various nationalities participated in the ceremonies. Their club came near suspension during the Civil War, but in 1866 and 1867 a union was effected with followers of Lassalle, a small band of whom had effected an organization in New York in 1867; for a ripple on the surface of the waters which Ferdinand Lassalle had troubled reached even our shores. The "Social Party" was thus started in 1868, and in 1869 it became affiliated with the International Workingmen's Association through the General Council of London. This was the old International founded by Carl Marx,[1] many "sections" of which sprang up in different parts of the United States, between 1870 and 1873, and connections were sought with the trades-unions of the country, and indeed actually formed. As early as 1869 a

[1] It is necessary, for brevity's sake, to assume that the reader is already familiar with the history of the old International. A description of it is given in Ely's "French and German Socialism," chap. x.

delegate of the North American Central Committee of the International attended regularly the New York City Workingmen's Union, composed of delegates from trades-unions aggregating a membership of thirty or forty thousand. A German daily newspaper, *Die Arbeiter Union*, was published in New York, from 1868 to 1871, but I do not know whether it was an outspoken advocate of socialism or not. German weeklies were established in New York and Chicago in 1873. The Chicago weekly, *Der Vorbote*, is still alive, and, although originally socialistic, has become in recent years a pronounced advocate of anarchy. The International of Marx charged several secretaries with the work of forming connections with American labor organizations, and J. George Eccarius, the General Secretary of the Central Council, wrote a letter to the National Labor Union, when in session in Philadelphia in 1869, inviting that body to send a delegate to the congress of the International Workingmen's Association to be held in Basle, Switzerland, in September of the same year. The invitation was accepted, a delegate, Cameron by name, was sent; and thus an apparent union was effected between European Socialism and an American labor organization, representing half a million laborers."[1] But this union was more apparent than real, and implied anything rather than the conversion of American laborers to socialism. It must be remembered that the old International sought a federation of labor and actually secured the co-operation for a time of the English trades-unions as well as many American societies; but it insisted on the acceptance of no social philosophy on the part of these various bodies.[2] The letter of Eccarius, for example, based

[1] The number represented by the delegates to the annual meeting of the National Labor Union in New York in 1868 is said to have been 640,000.

[2] Professor de Laveleye calls these adhesions "purely Platonic."

the arguments in favor of the representation of the National Labor Union at the congress of the International on the desirability of a co-operation between the workingmen of Europe and America to help regulate emigration. "There is a particular reason," wrote Eccarius, "why you should strain a point to send a delegate, — the emigration mania. Once a year during our congress week all the scribes of Europe are busy with our doings. A sketch of what things are in the New World, given by an American, would not only find its way into all the papers, but would greatly tend to disabuse many of their illusions of the happiness in store for them if they could only manage to cross the big lake. It is the policy of those who have an interest in keeping things as they are, to induce as many as possible to leave, since their very presence endangers the continuance of the existing villainy, and in the New World they are used to perpetuate the existing villainy, and their presence tends to hamper, if not to frustrate, the onward march of the labor movement."

In 1871 a new impulse was received from the French refugees who came to America after the suppression of the uprising of the commune of Paris, and brought with them a spirit of violence, but a more important event in this early period was the order of the congress of the International held in the Hague in 1872, which transferred to New York the "General Council" of the Association. Modern socialism had then undoubtedly begun to exist in America. The first proclamation of the council from their new headquarters was an appeal to workingmen "to emancipate labor and eradicate all international and national strife."[1]

[1] The authority for this statement may be found in an interview which a *New York Herald* reporter held with Mr. Leopold Jonas, a leading New York member of the Socialistic Labor Party. See "Our American Socialists," *New York Herald*, May 19, 1884.

In the spring of 1872 "an imposing demonstration" in favor of eight hours took place in New York City. The paper before me estimates the number of those taking part in the procession through the principal streets at twenty thousand, and among the other societies were the various New York sections of the International Workingmen's Association bearing a banner with their motto "Workingmen of all Countries, Unite!" The following year witnessed the disasters in the industrial and commercial world, to which reference has already been made; and the distress consequent thereupon was an important aid to the socialists in their propaganda. The "Exceptional Law" passed against socialists, by the German Parliament in 1878, drove many socialists from Germany to this country, and these have strengthened the cause of American socialism through membership in trades-unions and in the Socialistic Labor Party.

There have been several changes among the socialists in party organization and name since 1873, and national conventions or congresses have met from time to time. Their dates and places of meeting have been Philadelphia, 1874, Pittsburg, 1876,[1] Newark, 1877, Allegheny City, 1880, Baltimore and Pittsburg, 1883, and Cincinnati, 1885. The name Socialistic Labor Party was adopted in 1877 at the Newark Convention. In 1883 the split between the moderates and extremists had become definite, and the latter held their congress in Pittsburg, and the former in Baltimore.

The separation between the two bodies of socialists is a matter of interest. A similar separation took place in the congress of the International at the Hague in 1872, between

[1] In July of the same year an international meeting of labor organizations was held in Philadelphia on occasion of the Centennial Exposition.

the followers of Marx, who represented in many respects the spirit and methods of the present Socialistic Labor Party, and those of Bakounine, who were anarchists like the members of the existing International in the United States. It is altogether probable that the feeling of animosity between the adherents of the two directions was present in New York from the beginning of the operations of the "Council" transferred in the same year to that city. But for some time they succeeded in working together, and hopes of a permanent union were certainly not abandoned until after the advent of John Most on our shores in December, 1882. Most has proved a firebrand among American socialists, and was early denounced by those who felt repelled by his mad expressions of violence, and saw that he was doing their cause much harm; but it was still impossible to pass a formal vote repudiating him in the congress of the Socialistic Labor Party in Baltimore in 1883. During the following year the San Francisco *Truth* still thought it worth while to advocate a union of all discontented proletarians, but acrimony and bitterness between representatives of opposing views continued to increase; and when the terrible outrages in London, in January of 1885, were condemned in terms of severity by the Socialistic Labor Party and applauded by the Internationalists, all hopes of united action vanished, and the animosity between the two became so intense that they came to blows in a meeting called in New York by the moderates to protest against the recent use of dynamite. Shortly after that there was a disturbance between the Internationalists and the members of the Socialistic Labor Party in a public meeting in Baltimore; and the terrible affair of May 4, 1886, when the Chicago Internationalists endeavored to resist the police by the use of dynamite, terminated all possibility of joint action — even if there could previously have

been any remote hope of it; for that was denounced as criminal folly by the Socialistic Labor Party. The warfare between the two factions has now become quite as bitter as between them and the competitive society they seek to overthrow.

CHAPTER IX.

THE INTERNATIONALISTS.

I. The International Working People's Association.

THE Internationalists, at their congress in Pittsburg, adopted unanimously a manifesto or declaration of motives and principles, often called the Pittsburg Proclamation, in which they describe their ultimate goal in these words: —

"What we would achieve is, therefore, plainly and simply, —

"First, Destruction of the existing class rule, by all means, *i. e.*, by energetic, relentless, revolutionary, and international action.

"Second, Establishment of a free society based upon co-operative organization of production.

"Third, Free exchange of equivalent products by and between the productive organizations without commerce and profit-mongery.

"Fourth, Organization of education on a secular, scientific and equal basis for both sexes.

"Fifth, Equal rights for all without distinction to sex or race.

"Sixth, Regulation of all public affairs by free contracts between the autonomous (independent) communes and associations, resting on a federalistic basis."[1]

[1] Free contract, it is to be observed, in the language of the Internationalists, means not freedom of contract in the present sense, but a contract which may be fulfilled or not, according to the good pleasure of the parties concerned. The one who breaks it, suffers no legal penalty.

Here we have in a few words the dream of the Anarchists, as these Internationalists call themselves, and it has been well characterized by Mr. Hyndman, as "individualism gone mad." It may be well to explain the ideas contained in this programme under the two heads, political and economic.

First, Their political philosophy is pure negation or nihilism in the strict sense of the word. It is the doctrine of *laissez faire* carried to its logical outcome. What say our advocates of the "let-alone" policy about government and the state? They assure us that the less government the better, and that the state is but a necessary evil at best. To this the Anarchists reply: Very true, but why should we tolerate the least needless evil? We hold that government of any kind is worse than useless, and that the state is but another name for oppression. "One of Jefferson's maxims was 'the best government is that which governs least.' If this be true, then

> 'The very best government of all
> Is that which governs not at all.'"[1]

We recognize no right of any individual or of any body of men to interfere with us, and we will have neither state nor laws. We are prepared to fight for liberty without restraint or control. Our ideal is anarchy. It is a holy cause, and to it we have devoted our lives.

Each member of society is, in this new world, to be absolutely free. As gregarious animals, and for the sake of voluntary co-operation, men will naturally form themselves into independent self-governing communes or townships, into which the whole of mankind will be ultimately resolved.

[1] Quoted with approval by the *London Anarchist*, under the heading, "Sound Sense," from the American newspaper *Lucifer*.

These communes will for the sake of convenience be grouped loosely into federations, which, however, will have no authority whatever. While each commune is at liberty to sever its connection with the common body at pleasure, it is thought that the social nature of man will be a sufficient adhesive force to hold them together. All regulation and control centre in free and voluntary and self-enforced contract.

Second, The economic ideas of the Internationalists as expressed in their *résumé* of their aims, are "co-operative organization of production," and "free exchange of equivalent products by and between the productive organizations without commerce and profit-mongery." But when developed, these brief propositions imply several radical demands, viz., "free lands," "free tools" and "free money." Rent falls away, as there is no authority to enforce its payment, and laborers lay hold of and use freely the means of production (capital), as anarchism recognizes no power to prevent this. Possession takes the place of property, and possession lasts only so long as means of production possessed are actually used by their possessor. This ends at once "capitalism" and "landlordism," and leaves room only for united labor. Workingmen, it is supposed, will naturally group themselves into "productive organizations," where each one will work as long as he pleases and receive "labor-money," or credits indicating the length of labor-time. If our present terms should be retained, a dollar might represent the toil of one hundred minutes, and one dollar would always equal another. "Socialism advocates that the time and service of one man is equal ultimately to the time and service of any other man; hence, the nearest approach to exact justice is equal pay for equal time and expenditure of equal energy."[1]

[1] From "Socialism" by Starkweather and Wilson in Lovell's Library, No. 461, p. 29, cf. also pp. 78–80. This doctrine of equality

Commerce is replaced by a common store-house to which all social products are carried, and where their value is determined by labor-time. A bushel of potatoes might be quoted at twenty-five minutes, for example, in which case any purchaser presenting a note for one hundred minutes would receive his potatoes, and seventy-five minutes in change.

Thus the laborer receives the full value of all he produces, and profits, called legalized robbery or unpaid labor, are abolished. It is supposed that a few hours a day — one writer mentions three[1] — would suffice to produce all the goods needed by society. In the words of the Pittsburg Proclamation: "This order of things allows production to regulate itself according to the demands of the whole people, so that nobody need work more than a few hours a day, and that all nevertheless can satisfy their needs. Hereby time and opportunity are given for opening to the people the way to the highest civilization; the privileges of higher intelligence fall with the privileges of wealth and birth."

Another point which deserves attention is the preponderating influence the Internationalists, even more than other socialists, give to external circumstances in the formation of character. If their attention is called to the crime and wrong-doing in present society as a proof of the need of a repressive authority, they reply that it will be quite different in a condition of anarchy, because our existing institutions are the cause of the evil which afflicts us now; in particular do they necessitate the poverty of the many, and poverty is the chief source of what we call sin. "Socialism," say

seems to be unanimously accepted by the Anarchists, though it is not maintained by all socialists, and it must in fairness be acknowledged that it forms no necessary part of socialism.

[1] Benjamin Franklin, I believe, said four hours.

Starkweather and Wilson, in their pamphlet,[1] "would abolish poverty by preventing it, by removing its causes. As poverty is the cause directly or indirectly of all crime, therefore, by the abolition of poverty, crime would become almost unknown, and with the crime would disappear all the lice, leeches, vampires, and vermin that fatten on its filth; such as the entire legal fraternity, soldiers, police, spies, judges, sheriffs, priests, preachers, quack doctors, etc., etc." Nevertheless, even an Anarchist is forced to admit the possibility of an occasional crime against individual or society, and in such case has nothing better to offer than the unrestrained exercise of brute force. As they now advocate the extermination of opponents and admire mob law, there is nothing left for them save the destruction of those whom they consider their enemies in any and every form of society.

The truth is, however, that most Anarchists object in reality only to present state-forms and wish to replace them with new institutions of equal authority. Some of them apparently picture the future to themselves as the exclusive domination of labor organizations, and overlook two facts: first, if all should not be embraced in these associations, those outside of them would be in subjection to a power in the creation of which they would have no voice, and over which they could exercise no control; second, the state would by no means be abolished, even if all were included in some labor organization, for then labor organizations would themselves constitute the state.[2] It is thus not

[1] L. c., p. 30.

[2] I think the English co-operators fall into a similar error. They protest strenuously that they repudiate state socialism, and yet they expect co-operation to absorb all the industry of the country. In this event co-operative societies would practically constitute the state, and the result would be socialism, though the goal would be reached by a different route from that proposed by others.

the state in itself to which they object, but our present state.[1]

Yet there is a difference among the Anarchists with respect to authority. Some perceive the weakness of the Anarchistic Communists and repudiate all authority for the future as well as for the present. These believe in "Individual Sovereignty," and call themselves Individual Anarchists. Their general principle is that each person is to do, without let or hindrance, absolutely what seems good to him, and no public authority is ever on any account to interfere. There shall, for example, be no public banks, or bank regulations, no public mint, no public post-office; but whosoever pleases may carry letters, issue paper money, or coin silver and gold. These Individual Anarchists or "Boston" Anarchists, as they are also called, from their strongest centre, have formed no party, and could consistently form no party in the ordinary sense. As tolerance, however, it is frequently said, can tolerate everything save intolerance, so liberty, in their opinion, can tolerate everything save an invasion of liberty, and that, they hold, may be repelled by voluntary organization in any practicable way, even by the use of dynamite, if it be necessary. Voluntary associations are contemplated by the Boston Anarchists for the defence of person and of property of individuals, but common property is condemned as communism. Those who belong to these associations will submit voluntarily to their rules, and disobedience will constitute a withdrawal. Absolutely free competition is the ideal of Individual Anarchy, but the present competition is rejected as unfair. "Competition under liberty is beneficent

[1] One Anarchist writes me that the first chapter of Stepniak's "Russia Under the Tzars" contains a description of what he considers an ideal society. This chapter treats of the "Mir."

co-operation. It makes cost the limit of price.[1] It opens the way for every man to prove his fitness and survive on his merits. The present order of competition under the state permits the unfittest to survive on his demerits."

"The all important principle at this juncture," writes one of this school, "is Liberty, which as soon as sufficient co-operation offers, the Anarchists propose to make a reality by passive resistance to its violation through suffrage, taxation, and monopoly." What is our present government which must be overthrown? It is "a compulsory association principally for invasion of person and property, dependent for its very existence upon the bottom invasion, compulsory taxation."[2]

A Boston Anarchist writes me this: "The disciples of Josiah Warren and Proudhon are the only real Anarchists, and the only men in the labor movement who start with certain fundamentals, and test every question by them, — in other words, who act in accordance with a definite philosophy."

The present chief representative of the Individual Anarchists, is Benjamin R. Tucker, the editor of *Liberty*. Tucker is a devoted disciple of Proudhon, and proposes to translate his complete works. He has already published volume I., a translation of the celebrated treatise "What is Property?"

In response to a letter of inquiry, a friend writes me as follows: —[3]

[1] By means of "free banking," as advocated by Proudhon. See "Mutual Banking," by William B. Greene, for sale at the office of *Liberty*, Boston.

[2] *Liberty* of Boston, Jan. 3, 1885.

[3] This extreme courtesy on the part of a busy man is only one of the many instances of kindness with which I have met in the preparation of this book. My experience in authorship as well as in the discharge of the other duties of life, has borne out anything rather than the hypothesis that men are actuated only by motives of selfishness.

"Warren was a descendant of General Warren of Bunker Hill fame. He was born in either Brookline or Brighton (near Boston), and at the time of his death in 1874 he was nearly seventy-five years old. He developed an unusual musical genius at an early age, and was a skilful player on several instruments.

"The first event of importance in his life, according to Tucker, was when Robert Owen, the socialist and manufacturer, came to this country and founded a communistic colony at New Harmony, Ind. Owen was backed by his own millions and by a fine class of supporters, and among others Warren was carried away by his scheme, and joined the community. In a year or two the famous experiment failed, because the projectors spent their time in making and re-making constitutions instead of planting potatoes.

"Warren was discouraged and went into the woods, sat on a log, and thought the matter over. He came to the conclusion that the scheme failed because the individual had been sunk in the community, because there were no individual interests, rights, and responsibility. It occurred to him that the real social reform lay in *more* individualization than is found in the existing social system, in a *separation* of individual interests. The sovereignty of the individual was the first fundamental principle of his social philosophy. John Stuart Mill in his autobiography acknowledges his indebtedness to Warren and to Wilhelm von Humboldt for the basic idea of his own work on liberty. Warren's second fundamental principle was an economic one, — that cost is the true basis of price, or 'cost the limit of price.'

"This was about 1827. Warren then determined to test the cost theory, and he started a store in Cincinnati (at the corner of Fourth and Elm Streets?), which he conducted for two years, doing business to the amount of one hundred and

fifty thousand dollars. The plan and history of the store are found detailed in Warren's work on 'Practical Details of Equitable Commerce' (now out of print). The store was open during 1828–29. It was in a new country when business was not centralized as now, and the retailer realized large profits. Warren marked his goods with the cost and added seven per cent for rent, fuel, etc., exclusive of the labor of himself and the employees. This seven per cent was carefully computed, and was invariable, but it allowed no profit. A clock was kept in the store, and every customer was timed and charged so much an hour for the time of the salesman. The charge for time was reduced with the increase of business. Finally Warren issued his own money in the shape of labor notes (described in his works), which he exchanged for the labor notes of his customers. His notes became a popular circulating medium.

"The experiment satisfied him, and he closed his store, and later published his principal work, 'True Civilization,' in which he announced and developed these principles. The book was published somewhere in the '30s, and Warren set the type for it himself. It is now in print.[1] He was the inventor of the present system of stereotyping for book work. He also invented a system of musical notation which was pronounced by Lowell Mason superior to that now in use.

"Warren then went to a place in Ohio, and started a community on his peculiar principles. In 1850 or thereabouts, he converted Stephen Pearl Andrews, who wrote 'The Science of Society,' which Warren called a better statement of his principles than his own. Later he founded 'Modern Times,' a community on Long Island, but neither community amounted to much. His followers thought the community

[1] Part I. only; for sale at office of *Liberty*.

idea a mistake. After 1860 he published Part II. of 'True Civilization,' which is out of print, the plates having been destroyed in the great Boston fire in 1872. Part III. was published later, and is also out of print. Part I., which is now on the market, is, however, the most important and valuable.

"Warren in his later years lived a sort of hermit life, but spent his time in the propagandism of his ideas. He died in Charlestown, now a part of Boston, at the house of E. D. Linton, one of his disciples. Some years previously he had lived at Princeton, Mass.

"Out of his teachings has grown the school of social reformers in this country known as the Individualistic Anarchists, who consider him as the thinker in this country corresponding with Proudhon. The two were almost identical in their fundamental ideas. Warren's greatest strength as an agitator lay in his conversation with individuals, and most of his converts were made in the parlor, where he displayed the greatest keenness in explanations and answering objections."

To return from the digression concerning the Boston Anarchists, it may be noticed, as an external peculiarity of the International Working People's Association, that they occasionally use the black flag as an emblem of their cause. When it was unfurled on Thanksgiving day in 1884 in Chicago, August Spies, one of the anarchists now on trial for the murder of policemen on May 4, addressed the assembled people in these words, —

"It is the first time that emblem of hunger and starvation has been unfurled on American soil. It represents that these people have begun to reach the condition of the older countries. We have got to strike down these robbers that are robbing the working people."

While the economic ideas of the Anarchists are so vague that it is difficult to describe them more precisely than has been done already, it is the less necessary to do so from the fact that the chief part of their programme is a plea for action, for revolution; for destruction, rather than construction, as they hold that the former must precede the latter.

It is to be noticed that they attempt to realize their political ideal as far as possible in their own plan of organization. The International is composed of independent "groups," with no central authority or executive, both of which expressions many of them detest. The only bond of union between them is found in their common ideas, in their press, their congresses and local organizations, and a Bureau of Information, formed by the Chicago Groups, which appears to be the nearest approach to a centre of life and activity.

The manifesto of the Internationalists has been mentioned, and quotations from it given. It is, however, necessary to consult their press to obtain a more complete survey of their views. They have several newspapers, of which the following are the most prominent: *Die Freiheit*, Most's New York weekly, now in its eighth year; *Der Vorbote*, a weekly, *Die Fackel*, a Sunday paper, and *Die Chicagoer Arbeiterzeitung*, a daily, all three published by the Socialistic Publishing Company of Chicago. The *Vorbote*, in its thirteenth year, is the oldest of their organs. The *Alarm*, a weekly, in its second year, is published at the same place, and is edited by A. R. Parsons.[1] Its purpose is to disseminate the most extreme revolutionary teachings among English-speaking laborers. Kansas sends us *Lucifer, the Light-Bearer*, a journal of like tendencies. *Truth*, "a Journal of the Poor," was published

[1] Perhaps it ought now to be said was edited. I have not seen a copy since May 4, and Parsons is now on trial with the other Chicago leaders.

in San Francisco for three years, when it was changed in form, and became a monthly magazine, of which six issues appeared, the last in July, 1884. The "good will" of *Truth* was finally made over to the *Enquirer*, of Denver, Col., which now takes its place, although more conservative in tone, and not, as was *Truth*, the acknowledged organ of the "Red International." These journals supply abundant evidence touching the doctrines of the anarchist in respect to the family and religion, and it is these doctrines which are now to engage our attention.

The Internationalists attack both religion and the family, and that with what may be considered practical unanimity. While it is not right to connect this attitude with socialism *per se*, the fairest minded person cannot blame a writer for holding up to condemnation any concrete, actually existing party which wages war against all that we consider most sacred, and which seeks to abolish those institutions which we hold to be of inestimable value, both to the individual and to society.

Religion and the family are not only attacked by the extremists, but the onslaught on them is made in language of unparalleled coarseness and shocking impiety. Here are two quotations from *Truth*,[1] which are indicative of the general tone of the paper: "Heaven is a dream invented by robbers to distract the attention of the victims of their brigandage;" "When the laboring men understand that the heaven which they are promised hereafter is but a mirage, they will knock at the door of the wealthy robber with a musket in hand, and demand their share of the goods of this life now." *Freiheit*, the most blasphemous of all socialistic papers, concludes an article on the "Fruits of the Belief in

[1] Although *Truth* was the organ of the "Red International," these quotations characterize the "Black International" equally well.

God" with the exclamation, "Religion, authority, and state are all carved out of the same piece of wood: to the devil with them all!" The *Vorbote* speaks of religion as destructive poison. The Pittsburg manifesto — unanimously adopted, be it remembered — contains this sentence, "The church finally seeks to make complete idiots out of the mass, and to make them forego the paradise on earth by promising a fictitious heaven."

There appears to be scarcely the same unanimity concerning the family. It was not directly condemned in the Pittsburg manifesto, nor does *Truth* say much about it. But there is no doubt about the general policy of their journals. They sneer incessantly at the "sacredness of the family," and dwell with pleasure on every vile scandal which is noticed by the "capitalistic press." Especial attention is given to divorces, to show that the family institution is already undermined; and they are thorough going sceptics regarding the morality of the relations between the sexes in bourgeois society. The *Vorbote* for May 12, 1883, contains an article on the "Sacredness of the Family," from which these sentences are extracted: —

"In capitalistic society, marriage has long become a pure financial operation, and the possessing classes long ago established community of wives, and, indeed, the nastiest which is conceivable. . . . They take a special pleasure in seducing one another's wives. . . . A marriage is only so long moral as it rests upon the free inclination of man and wife." A poem which appeared in *Truth*, Jan. 26, 1884, is in the same spirit. It is entitled,

MARRIAGE

UNDER THE COMPETITIVE SYSTEM.

"Oh, wilt thou take this form so spare,
This powdered face and frizzled hair,

To be thy wedded wife;
And keep her free from labor vile, —
Lest she her dainty fingers soil, —
And dress her up in gayest style,
As long as thou hast life?"
"I will."

"And wilt thou take these stocks and bonds,
This brown-stone front, these diamonds,
To be thy husband, dear?
And wilt thou in this carriage ride,
And o'er his lordly home preside,
And be divorced while yet a bride,
Or ere a single year?"
"I will."

"Then I pronounce you man and wife;
And with what I've together joined
The next best man may run away,
Whenever he a chance can find."

Most's *Freiheit* habitually attains the superlative of coarseness and vileness in its attacks on the family. It objects to the family on principle, because it is the State in miniature, because it existed before the State, and furnished a model for it with all its evils and perversities. *Freiheit* advocates a new genealogy traced from mothers, whose names, and not that of the fathers, descend to the children, since it is never certain who the father is. Public up-bringing of children is likewise favored in the *Freiheit*, in order that the old family may completely abandon the field to free love.

We have now a complete picture of their ideals, — common property, socialistic production and distribution, the grossest materialism, free love, in all social arrangements perfect individualism, or, in other words, anarchy; negatively expressed, — away with private property, away with all author-

ity, away with the State, away with the family, away with religion!" .

The question, Who have been the teachers of the Internationalists? opens upon an interesting and instructive field of research. Nevertheless, the inquiry is a delicate one, for it involves names highly honored. While I cannot go into this subject at length, I will throw out a few remarks merely of a suggestive nature, but I must protest that I intend to cast no personal reproach on names I mention, even should it seem to me that the Anarchists had in some instances only drawn the logical conclusion of the teachings of their masters. A man is bound to speak what he regards as the truth, and it is a generally accepted maxim that a public teacher cannot be held responsible for "inferences."[1]

First, in political science they have drawn inspiration from the teachings of the old school political scientists who preached *laissez faire* and taught the inherent badness of all government. Not to go outside of England, Buckle and Herbert Spencer may be the two thinkers on social topics whose writings are most familiar to them. Both of these men are studied and quoted by them with approval. "Herbert Spencer," says the *Alarm*,[2] "has done much to break attachment to the principle of authority in attempting to specify the limits of the state." An Anarchist of Michigan writes as follows: "The opinions that I form from reading Anarchistic literature — notably the writings of Herbert Spencer, Josiah Warren, Proudhon, Reclus, etc. — are that the kind of destruction they intend will not be destruction

[1] Manifestly it would stop all speaking and writing on scientific topics, if every one were first to inquire what inferences various members of the community would draw from doctrines put forth, and should keep silence until convinced that no misconstruction was possible.

[2] Nov. 14, 1885.

of justice and morality. No injustice has sprung from the destruction of the institution of chattel slavery here. It was the destruction of a bad system. Of course, the destruction of wealth in itself is an evil and I am in hopes that a better social system will be established without the destruction of life and wealth. . . . Of course you are aware that many Anarchists hope to reach the goal of their ideal only through the slow process of evolution. . . . I believe we have too much respect for statute law. My experience last winter at Lansing, the capital, while the Legislature was in session, has given me an utter contempt for what is commonly called law. I am positive that not one in ten of the one hundred and thirty members of the Legislature ever in all his life read a book on political economy. . . . What would we expect from one who claimed to be a surgeon who never studied surgery?"

Edmund Burke's "Vindication of Natural Society" has attracted favorable notice on the part of Anarchists, and is advertised in the *London Anarchist* in these words: "The Inherent Evils of all State Governments Demonstrated. . . . This work not only attacks the various forms of government, but the principle of government itself." The American economist, Cooper, said early in this century that a *nation* was nothing but a grammatical conception, — a convenience of language to designate a collection of individuals. This has been repeated in many forms. An Italian delegate to the congress of the old International in Ghent, in 1867, asked "Where, then, is the State?" and replied, "An excrescence[1] which lives at the expense of the social body, and which has no other object and no other effect than to organize and keep up the exploitation of the workers. . . . Our single aim must be to destroy the state. It will then be for

[1] Professor de Laveleye remarks, "The economists say a canker."

the free and fertile action of the natural laws of society to accomplish the destinies of humanity." Professor de Laveleye adds: "The influence of positivism and Herbert Spencer is manifest."

One of the chief heroes of the Internationalists is Darwin, whose portrait is considered worthy to be associated with that of their greatest leaders; while all the more renowned natural scientists are admired, and their writings studied with surprising diligence. Whatever else may fail in the lists of books recommended by the Anarchists for the education of their followers, one may count for certainty on finding a goodly number of works of Darwin and Huxley; and no newspapers in the United States have given so much space to natural science and its great lights as those published by the Chicago Internationalists. Nearly all social democrats and anarchists are thorough-going Darwinians, and in this they seem inconsistent, for as Professor de Laveleye remarks, "It is impossible to understand by what strange blindness socialists adopt Darwinian theories, which condemn their claims of equality, while at the same time they reject Christianity, whence those claims have issued and whence their justification may be found."

A partial explanation, however, is possible, though a little complicated. It is connected on the one hand with hostility to the church, on the other with the influence of European, and in particular of Russian, leaders. Internationalism, which is much the same thing as the older Nihilism, sprang up among educated Russians at about the time when Darwin and his friends were beginning to be talked about; and that order of mind which rendered one accessible to new and strange doctrines of one sort was not closed to those of a different kind. At any rate Nihilism made converts among scientists, and the influence of these leaders was felt on their

more humble followers. Then Russian influence, which has everywhere been perceptible, was felt in opposition to the church, and the cultivation of natural science as taught by Darwin, Huxley, and Haeckel appeared to them like a force which might be turned against supernatural religion. Now the hostility to the church is something easily understood in a country like Russia where it is used as the tool of despotism, and as the sanctification of damnable oppression. Is not the Czar the arch-enemy of freedom, and at the same time the head of the church? Is it, then, so strange as it would at first appear, that educated Russians should renounce the only form of Christianity which they know? The hostility to the church is largely due to foreign influence, I think, although the attitude which some of the prominent representatives of Christianity in this country assumed on the slavery question, has weakened her materially among the masses in America; and nowhere has her voice been raised with sufficient clearness against such barbarous atrocities as those perpetrated in Russia and elsewhere in the name of religion.[1] The opposition to the church can, then, be explained only on historical grounds. Another reason for the cultivation of natural science is the really strong desire for mental improvement.

A similar partial explanation of the hostility to the state may be found. The only state known in Russia is bad; hence the overhasty generalization — away with the state! This is the more easily understood when it is remembered that abolitionists like William Lloyd Garrison became Anarchists, — to be sure, peaceful Anarchists, and this with far less

[1] No one is acquainted with American churches who would pretend that these abuses were sanctioned by them. Many clergymen like Dr. Kylance and Dr. Heber Newton have spoken in the plainest terms, but too few have followed their example to make the real attitude of our churches as plain as it ought to be.

cause. What were they fighting? Slavery. What upheld slavery? The state — that is, government; hence the conclusion, government is an evil! Away with it![1]

Anarchy has received some further support in America — just about enough to be perceptible — from the general inclination to take the law in one's own hand, as seen in examples of lynch law. The miscarriage of justice is so frequent that men lose patience at times; even educated men do this too often, and feel that redress of wrong can be found only in violent self-defence. Lawlessness is prescribed for lawlessness! I have heard a gentleman of character and standing say that he thought the people in a city, which I shall not name, ought to have arisen in anger and lynched a railway president, whom he personally liked, for a flagrant case of corruption of public authorities. Even a conservative like Thurlow Weed could use these words: —

"In some emergencies vigilance committees have been found to be not only a necessity but a salutary remedy for universal and overwhelming crimes and vices. The highest and most beneficent expressions of justice have occasionally been revealed by an unwritten code familiarly known as lynch law. If the chief gamblers who occasioned the gold panic of 1869 and the 'North-West' corner of 1872, together with the usurers who brought about a state of things which enabled them to loan money at one per cent a day, had been suspended by the neck in the streets which they desecrate, the city would now be exempt from present and prospective sufferings."[2]

These extracts are by no means quoted with approval, but simply as a partial explanation of current phenomena.

[1] Any one who will read Stepinak's "Russia Under the Tzars" will understand how modern Nihilism could originate in Russia.

[2] Memoir, p. 499.

The error is that familiar one of generalization on the basis of insufficient data.

The doctrine of revolution as held by good men, and as justified by American history, might seem, at first thought, to give some support to the teachings of the Internationalists. Take this passage, for example, from Frederick Denison Maurice's work "Social Morality": "There may be a civilization which is destructive of social morality, of social existence. War may be — so far as we know has been — the only means of reforming it." Then take this extract from the Constitution of Maryland: —

"Art. VI. That all persons invested with the legislative or executive powers of government are the trustees of the public, and, as such, accountable for their conduct; wherefore, whenever the ends of government are perverted, and public liberty manifestly endangered, and all other means of redress ineffectual, the people may, and of right ought to, reform the old and establish a new government; the doctrine of non-resistance against arbitrary power and oppression is absurd, slavish, and destructive of the good and happiness of mankind."

Yet when we come to look at the matter more carefully, we find nothing in the world's history or in the doctrines of her best teachers to substantiate the Anarchistic theory of revolution, which contains but a mere kernel of truth. Revolution, indeed, under certain extreme circumstances, which happily occur rarely in the history of a nation, may be both a right and a duty, but its justification lies in this: That it is, then, a revolution to restore the authority of law, not to overthrow it, for the sad crisis comes only when right and justice have been trampled under foot, and when brave and true men, after patient waiting and long-continued remonstrance, find that existing authorities can never be persuaded to yield

to the voice of reason by peaceful means. And if at times revolution against human law is advocated, it is because men have felt that only through the sacrifice of life could the supremacy of a higher law be secured. The world's benefactors have never intended to violate law, but have simply striven to act in accordance with the dictates of law; and the grandest men of history have been among those who have been most conscious of the sublime authority of that law to which they yielded obedience. It is, then, correctly, that Maurice explains Milton's approval of the execution of Charles I. in these words: "Milton, with his stern conception of the awfulness of Law, of its celestial origin, could rejoice in a death which seemed to him the vindication of it," for he believed with all his soul "in the government of a King of kings." [1]

II. The International Workmen's Association.

This association, designated by the initials, I. W. A., differs in a few particulars only from the I. W. P. A., just described. It lays greater stress on education and is somewhat less inclined to favor violence in the present, holding that a revolution in the minds of men must precede the political revolution. Many if not most of its members are state socialists, not Anarchists. A union between the Black and Red has been urged, but has not as yet been brought about. The following explanation of its principles and methods is taken from the "First Report of the Kansas Bureau of Labor Statistics."

"To print and publish and circulate labor literature; to hold mass meetings; to systematize agitation; to establish labor libraries, labor halls, and lyceums for discussing social science; to

[1] Maurice, l. c., pp. 15, 16.

maintain the labor press; to protect members and all producers from wrong; to aid all labor organizations; to aid the establishment of unity and the maintenance of fraternity between all labor organizations; to bring about an alliance between the manufacturing and agricultural producers; to encourage the spirit of brotherhood and inter-dependence among all producers of every state and country; to ascertain, segregate, classify, and study the habits and acts of their enemies; to secure information of the wrongs perpetrated against them, and to record and circulate the same; to arouse a spirit of hostility against and ostracism of the capitalistic press; to prepare the means for directing the coming social revolution by enlightening public opinion on the wrongs perpetrated against the producers of the world; to obliterate national boundary lines and sectional prejudices, with a view to the international unification of the producers of all lands; and to eradicate the impression that redress can be obtained by the ballot.

"The Internationalists believe that if universal suffrage had been capable of emancipating the working people from the rule of what they call the 'loafing classes,' that it would have been taken away from them before now, and they therefore have no faith in the ballot as a means of righting the wrongs under which the masses groan, because the 'district' system, the division of the people into political parties, the manipulation of primaries, caucuses, and elections, the use of money, and the influence of bourgeoisie priests, press, and politician make it impossible for real and honest representatives of the people to be elected; because no means exist to punish or recall unfaithful public servants; because there are no means by which the people themselves can pass such laws as they may desire; because participation in politics, as at present conducted, not only corrupts the leaders, but the rank and file as well; because, in order to accomplish their aims, it is necessary that in the hearts and minds of the people, there shall be developed the greatest courage, the loftiest unselfishness, and the most heroic devotion, and that the 'dirty pool of politics' does not elevate or refine. They believe that the spoliation of the producing classes can only be termi-

nated by a bloody and universal revolution; that this revolution will be precipitated upon them by the ruling class, or monopolists, as soon as they understand that the producers are being educated to such a degree as to make their continued 'legal' robbery dangerous to themselves and their institutions; and they hold that only by the education of the masses can they gain their social and economic freedom. They therefore declare that their first duty is to educate the masses; to prepare for the coming universal revolution, and to endeavor to so direct it that there may be secured as its results a system of co-operative society which will insure justice to all. The organization is formed on the 'group' system; that is, any person who subscribes to these principles may become an organizer. He organizes a group of eight besides himself. When this group becomes thoroughly conversant with the principles and methods of the organization, each member becomes an organizer and forms a group of his own; and this goes on indefinitely. North America is divided into ten divisions, the Canadian, the British Columbia, the Eastern States, the Middle States, the Western States, the Rocky Mountains, the Pacific Coast, the Southern States, the Mexican, and the Missouri Valley. Each division is presided over by a division executive of nine persons. The International was organized on its present basis on July 15, 1881, with fifty-four delegates, representing 320 'divisions,' or groups, composed of 600,000 members. The countries represented were France, Belgium, Holland, Germany, Austria, Italy, Spain, Switzerland, Russia, Siberia, Bulgaria, Roumania, Turkey, Egypt, England, Mexico, and the United States."

This I. W. A. is composed chiefly of English-speaking laborers, and its main strength is west of the Mississippi. Its membership is probably small, and fifteen thousand is a generous estimate.

CHAPTER X.

THE PROPAGANDA OF DEED AND THE EDUCATIONAL CAMPAIGN.

OUR attention must now be devoted to an inquiry into the means by which the Internationalists propose to attain their ends. Having abandoned all faith in the ballot, their present method is to sow the seeds of discontent, bitterness and hate in the minds of the laborers as a preparation for that violence and revolution which are to inaugurate a new era of peace and good-will among men. The following quotation from their manifesto makes this sufficiently plain.

"Agitation for the purpose of organization; organization for the purpose of rebellion. In these few words the ways are marked which the workers must take if they want to be rid of their chains, as the condition of things is the same in all countries of so-called 'civilization.' . . . We could show by scores of illustrations that all attempts in the past to reform this monstrous system by peaceable means, such as the ballot, have been futile, and all such efforts in the future must necessarily be so for the following reasons: —

"The political institutions of the time are the agency of the property class; their mission is the upholding of the privileges of their masters; any reform in your own behalf would curtail their privileges. To this they will not and cannot consent, for it would be suicidal to themselves. . . .

"There remains but one recourse — force! Our forefathers have not only told us that against despots force is

justifiable, because it is the only means, but they themselves have set the immemorial example."

In their *résumé*, they express their purpose in these words: "Destruction of the existing class rule, by all means, *i.e.*, by energetic, relentless, revolutionary and international action."

The newspapers of the Internationalists proclaim a similar doctrine, of which the following specimen quotation from *Truth* may serve as an example: —

"It is beyond doubt that if universal suffrage had been a weapon capable of emancipating people, our tyrants would have suppressed it long ago.

"Here in America, it is proved to be but the instrument used by our masters to prevent any reforms ever being accomplished. The Republican party is run by robbers and in the interest of robbery. The Democratic party is run by thieves and in the interest of thievery. Therefore vote no more."

Further, the International Labor Association which met in London in July, 1881, declared its hostility to all political action, and their resolution on this subject was printed in Most's *Freiheit* with approval. It is also in keeping with Most's recent advice to laborers in his speeches.

The fact is, the Internationalists put their faith in dynamite and other explosives. Dynamite, a cheap product and the poor man's natural weapon, is glorified, and songs are sung in its praise. "Hurrah for science! hurrah for dynamite, the power which in our hands shall make an end of tyranny," is the sentiment of a poem entitled "Nihilisten" published in the *Vorbote*. It is explained that powder and musket broke the back of feudalism and made way for the rule of the bourgeoisie. Fire-arms are, however, too expensive for the proletariat, but just as the proletariat was awaking to a

consciousness of its position, in the very nick of time, dynamite was discovered. Consequently such squibs as these may be found in the San Francisco *Truth*: "*Truth* is five cents a copy and dynamite forty cents a pound." "Every trade-union and assembly ought to pick its best men and form them into classes for the study of chemistry."

But we have not yet come to the worst; for there is no conceivable crime or form of violence against individuals or masses which the Internationalists as a party do not indorse, provided these crimes and acts of violence aid them to accomplish their ends. Hypocrisy, fraud, deceit, adultery, robbery, and murder are held sacred, when beneficial to the revolution. Not every individual member certainly maintains this view, but it is upheld unreservedly by the extremists and more or less explicitly by their leaders and journals. The following quotations from their newspapers supply abundant proof.

From *Truth*: "War to the palace, peace to the cottage, death to luxurious idleness!"

"We have no moment to waste. Arm! I say, to the teeth! for the Revolution is upon you!"[1]

An attack on Mr. Abram S. Hewitt concludes with these words: "Mr. Hewitt ought to be turned over to some recruit, whose services will be paid for out of Patrick Ford's emergency fund."

The following characteristic sentiments, a distinct revival of Babouvism, the communistic climax of the French Revolution, are taken from one of their papers: "Plundered as we are by the proprietor who limits our air and light, we must come forth from the cellars and attics in which our families struggle for existence and establish ourselves in those splendid buildings which have been raised at the cost

[1] *Truth*, Nov. 17, 1883.

of so much toil and suffering, and in those spacious apartments in which there is an abundance of pure air, and where the sunlight will throw its life-giving radiance upon our little ones. We must take possession of the great warehouses and stores in which the rich man now finds the means of gratifying his caprices, and lay our hands for the common good on the enormous quantity of products of all kinds necessary for our nourishment and for our protection from the weather."

Assassination of members of the ruling classes is thus spoken of in one of their journals. "It does not at all appear so terrible to us when laborers occasionally raise their arm and lay low one and another of this clique of robbers and murderers."[1] In another issue of the same paper a writer describes the circumstances which would justify the assassination of men like Gould or Vanderbilt:[2] "If at present a man should kill Jay Gould or Vanderbilt without special occasion, this would produce a very unfavorable impression, and would be of no use and would not satisfy the popular sense of justice.

"If, on the contrary, a railroad accident should again happen in consequence of the clearly proved criminal greed of these monopolists, and many men should be killed and crippled thereby, and the jury should, as usual, pronounce the real criminals, Vanderbilt or Gould, 'not guilty,' and the husband or father of one of the killed or one of the crippled should arise and obtain justice for himself in the massacre of these monsters (*diese Scheusale*), a cry of joy would resound through the whole land, and no jury would sentence the righteous executioner (*Vollstrecker*). . . . Whether one uses dynamite, a revolver, or a rope, is a matter of indifference."

[1] *Vorbote*, Jan. 16, 1881. [2] April 14.

The *Fackel*, German for torch, is a most dangerous-appearing sheet, inciting by its very appearance to incendiarism. The letters of the title *die Fackel* are in flames, and are printed in a background of fire and smoke. It does not look like the torch which gives light, but the torch which kindles a general conflagration.[1]

Lynching is advocated by these journals, and admired as a form of popular justice. One writer expresses[2] his opinion in this manner: "Judge Lynch is the best and cheapest court in the land; and when the sense of justice in the people once awakes, may the judge hold court in every place, for nowhere is there a lack of unhanged honorables and prominent sharps."

As one hundred years ago in France, so now, revolution has become a religion, — "our religion, the grandest religion that ever suffered for supporters and propagandists." There are those ready to die for it, as there were in the great French Revolution, — an eternal witness to the need of the human mind for some form of religion, and a proof that if a worthy one is not accepted, an unworthy one is sure, sooner or later, to force its entrance into the longing heart, and find there a capability of devotion often grand. The terrible condition of a soul which has thus elevated the trinity — envy, hatred, and destruction — to the position of a god to be served, cannot better be brought home to the reader than by means of a quotation from the *Freiheit*. The article from

[1] I have been informed that this interpretation, which appeared in my *Recent American Socialism*, and has since then been often repeated by others, is an error on my part. The true interpretation I did not understand, as it involved some old German symbolism, about which I knew nothing. I believe, as a matter of fact, the drawing for the title was made before the *Fackel* became an advocate of violence.

[2] In *Die Freiheit*.

which it is extracted is called "Revolutionary Principles," and appeared in the issue for March 18, 1883:[1]—

"The revolutionist has no personal interest, concerns, feelings, or inclinations, no property, not even a name. Everything in him is swallowed up by the one exclusive interest, by the one single thought, by the one single passion, — the revolution.

"In the depths of his nature, not only in words, but also in deeds, has he fully broken with the civil order, with the laws currently recognized in this world, with customs, morals, and usages. He is the irreconcilable enemy of this world; and if he continues to live in it, it only happens in order to destroy it with the greater certainty.

"The revolutionist despises all dogmas, and renounces the science of the present world, which he leaves for future generations. He knows only one science, namely, destruction. For this purpose, and for this alone, he studies mechanics, physics, chemistry, and possibly also medicine. For this purpose, he studies, day and night, living science, — men, characters, relations, — as well as all conditions of the present social order in all its ramifications.

"He despises public opinion. He despises and hates the present social morality in all its leadings and in all its manifestations; for him, everything is moral which proves the triumph of the revolution, everything immoral and criminal which hinders it. Severe against himself, he must likewise be severe against others. Every affection, the effeminating sensations of relationship, friendship, love, gratitude, all must be smothered in time by the one cold passion, the revolutionary work. For him there is only one pleasure, one

[1] It is evidently an interpretation, perhaps slightly changed, of Bakounine's "Revolutionary Catechism." Cf. Laveleye's "Socialism of To-day," pp. 204, 205.

comfort, one recompense, — the success of the revolution. Day and night may he cherish only one thought, only one purpose, viz., inexorable destruction. While he pursues this purpose, without rest and in cold blood, he must be ready to die, and equally ready to kill every one with his own hands who hinders him in the attainment of this purpose. . . .

"For the sake of unrelenting destruction, the revolutionist can, and, indeed, often must, live in the midst of society, and appear to be different from what he really is. The revolutionist must gain access to the higher circles, the church, the palace. . . . This entire lewd official society is divided into several categories. The first consists of those who are forthwith to be consecrated to Death" — and much more like this.

The most violent society in America has recently been formed, and has issued a proclamation. It is called the Black Hand, and its purpose is immediate violence. A few sentences from the proclamation[1] will prove instructive:[2] —

"THE BLACK HAND.

"A Proclamation Issued by an American Branch.

"Be up and Doing.

"Fellow workmen: The social crisis is pointing in all countries of modern civilization towards a fast approaching crisis. . . . Only through daring will we be victorious. . . .

[1] Published in *Truth*, Jan. 26, 1884.

[2] This is the comment of a socialist on what I say about the Black Hand: "It should be omitted, as there did never exist in America such a thing as a Black Hand. John Most, liking sensation, published only an appeal for forming the Black Hand, and with exception of a few further cranks, there was never an organization of such a kind." I leave it, though the fact is, I believe, correctly stated by the socialist. It is worth something, even as the expression of the ideas of a very few.

"The masses will only be with us when they trust us, and they will trust us if they have proofs of our power and ability.

"WE WILL GIVE THEM.

"This involves the necessity of revolutionary skirmishes, of daring deeds, of those acts which are the forerunners of every great revolution. This is the name of our International Organization — the Black Hand.

"Proletarians! . . . We appeal herewith to all our associates in regard to the propaganda of deed in every form. . . .

"War to the Knife!

"The Executive of the Black Hand."

The power of the revolutionary and violent socialists in countries where they exist in numbers, is a kind of *imperium in imperio*, whose leaders regard reverence for nationality as worthy to rank with old wives' superstitions, and consider patriotism a criminal weakness unworthy of a free man. This socialistic *imperium* is therefore thoroughly cosmopolitan and one and indivisible in all parts of the world; but two or more of its chief seats are evidently in America, for New York and still more Chicago seem entitled to such a position.

The Internationalists look at their power as an *imperium*, loyalty to which is worthy of the highest praise, and they confer distinguished honor upon all those who suffer in their cause. Terms are used whose aim is to pervert the mind and blind the eyes of sympathizers to the true character of their deeds. The leaders issue their decrees, couched in language proper to the civil authorities of the State, and pass "sentence of death" upon offenders. Assassination is called "execution," while the death penalty, when inflicted upon one of their members in due course of law, is called judicial murder. Thus the fulfilment of the mandates of

Anarchistic committees appear as righteous to those intrusted therewith, as it does to a federal marshal to assist in the enforcement of the laws of the United States. The power in New York, for example, sends instructions to the socialists of Vienna in 1883, admonishing them to pass over to the propaganda of deed and exterminate the Royal House of Austria and all who uphold them,[1] and when their "comrades," Stellmacher and others, murder officers of the Viennese police, a grand demonstration is held in Irving Hall in New York, to glorify these heroes of crime.[2] The mind of man has conceived no out-pourings of cruel vindictiveness and malignant hate which surpass the utterance of these mad souls, which one is tempted to believe are the spirits of the lost returned to torment the earth for sin. Most tells the faithful followers that what has happened in Austria ought not be called murder, because "murder is the killing of a human being, and I have never heard that a policeman was a human being." Then he goes on to say that spies and all members of the police ought to be exterminated, one after another, they all long ago having been declared outlaws by every decent man. "With shouts of joy," continues he, "does the proletariat learn of such deeds of vengeance. The propaganda of deed excites incalculable enthusiasm. When Hödel and Nobiling shot at the accursed Lehmann,[3] there were indeed those among the laborers who did not then understand those brave deeds, but to-day the German proletariat has only one objection to raise to them: viz., that better aim was not taken. . . . As for America, the people of that land will learn one day that an end is to be made of the mockery of the ballot, and that

[1] See *Die Freiheit*, Feb. 24, 1883.
[2] See *Die Freiheit*, Feb. 16, 1884.
[3] *I.e.*, the Emperor William.

the best thing one can do with such fellows as Jay Gould and Vanderbilt is to hang them on the nearest lamp-post." Then a series of resolutions were unanimously adopted, expressing sympathy with the aims of the Austrian revolutionists, approving of their means, and urging them to spare no life which stood in the way of the extinguishment of the aristocracy and bourgeoisie, in particular to destroy the emperor. The comrades were told that they must make themselves more terrible than terror itself. The resolutions closed with these words: "Brothers! Your affair is that of the oppressed against their tyrants. It is not the affair of Austria. It is the most sacred affair of the people of all lands.

"Comrades, we applaud most heartily your acts and your tactics. . . . Kill, destroy, annihilate your aristocracy and bourgeoisie to the last man.

"In dealing with this canaille, show neither love nor pity, . . . *Vive la révolution sociale*."

At the door a collection was taken up to form a "revolutionary action-fund." The proceeds were stated to be thirty-six dollars.

When the wretched August Reinsdorf was executed for an attempt on the life of the German emperor, Most's *Freiheit* appeared with a heavy black border about the first page, on which was an engraving of this "martyr," accompanied by a biographical notice in which he was raised to the rank of an immortal hero and a devoted saint. "One of our noblest and best is no more. In the prison yard at Halle under the murderous sword of the criminal Hohenzollern band, on the 7th of February, August Reinsdorf ended a life full of battle and of self-sacrificing courage, as a martyr to the great revolution. All who knew the comrade personally, know what this loss signifies. Every one who is able to value

manly worth and self-sacrifice, needs only to know how Reinsdorf conducted himself before the court, in order to possess the highest regard for him beyond the grave. As for us, we have taken Reinsdorf into our heart and there he will remain for all time." Language of this kind is continued through three columns, and it is mentioned with pride that Reinsdorf had been connected with the *Freiheit* from the beginning of its existence.[1]

It might be supposed that these Anarchists would have been stricken with remorse when they heard the news of the horrible dynamite explosions in London in January, 1885, but their consciences had already been seared as with a hot iron, and the editor of *Liberty* had the audacity to write such words as these: "It is glorious news that comes to us from England; sad enough if it were unnecessary, sad enough that it should be necessary, but having been made necessary by its victims, none the less joyful and glorious. The dynamite policy is now definitely adopted in England, and must be vigorously pushed until it has produced the desired effect of abolishing all the repressive legislation that denies the freedom of agitation and discussion, which alone can result in the final settlement of social questions and make the revolution a fixed fact. . . . An explosion that should blow every atom of the English Parliamentary Buildings into the Thames River ought to be as gratifying to every lover of liberty as the fall of the Bastile in 1789. . . . Why, by endangering the lives of innocent people, alienate the sympathy of many who would appreciate and applaud a prompt visitation of death upon a Gladstone immediately after the passage of a Coercion Act? . . . How much better and wiser and more effective in this respect the course of the Russian and German Terrorists?

[1] *Die Freiheit*, Feb. 14, 1885.

Witness, for instance, the telling promptness with which the police commissioner Rumpff was found dead on his door-step the other day, just after he had accomplished the death sentence of the brave Reinsdorf and his anarchistic comrades? I commend this relentless directness to the Irish dynamiters." [1]

While the European practices of the revolutionists have not as yet been adopted in America, they themselves claim that our respite is a short one, since they are waiting for an opportune moment to begin the tactics of violence, and the favorable time is expected in a very near future.[2]

While one method of preparing for the revolution is, as is seen, the *propaganda of deed*, as the use of dynamite and personal violence to individuals are euphemistically termed, another is the "Educational Campaign" which accompanies it and which some even of the Anarchists think ought to precede it, though the tendency now is strongly in the direction of immediate action.

In the last days of the newspaper *Truth*, its incessant cry was the "Educational Campaign" which was considered the pressing need of the moment. It was urged that tracts be published, existing journals encouraged, new ones founded, and teachers sent out into the four quarters of the earth to spread the doctrines of socialism far and near. Instructions to agitators were published, of which the following are samples: —

"Bring right home to him [the wage-worker] the question of his servitude and poverty. . . .

"Create disgust with, and rebellion against, existing usages, for success lies through general dissatisfaction.

"The masses must have something to hate. Direct their hatred to their condition."

[1] *Liberty*, Jan. 31, 1855. [2] See *Die Freiheit*, Feb. 18, 1884.

These instructions and others like them are now being carried out by the propagandists of anarchy. "Groups" are formed to which text-books constituting a course of study in socialism are recommended. It is urged that members of existing groups continue the work by formation of new groups of seven or eight or more, and that these latter in similar manner carry forward the movement which thus becomes self-propagating.

The ingenuity displayed in nourishing hate is remarkable. A number of *Truth* published two years ago contained the bill of fare of a rich man's dinner, which laborers are advised to cut out and paste on their "old tin coffee-pot at home." Long and apparently accurate lists of rich men in the chief cities of the United States are published with headings like this: —[1]

"DOLLARS.

"More men in the United States who have robbed us.

"THE GRAND LARCENISTS OF AMERICA.

"THE PEOPLE WHO HAVE LEGALLY STOLEN THE UNPAID WAGES OF THE WORKERS.

"[*Official.*]

"Headquarters Division Executive, Pacific Coast Division, International Workmen's Association, San Francisco. [Supplement to Circular No. 10, Series B., 1883]."

This also marks out the rich men for attention in the upheaval for which they are preparing. Perhaps they will be turned over to "recruits" to be paid out of emergency funds now being collected, unless, indeed, these should in the meanwhile mysteriously disappear; which fate, it is said, has ere this overtaken certain Irish emergency funds.

While the labor leaders and the labor press generally condemn these sentiments of the Internationalists in terms of

[1] *Truth*, Jan. 16, 1884.

merited severity, and while they are happily abhorrent to the vast mass of our laboring population, a serious mistake is sometimes made by writers who would only call attention to existing wrongs and to the dangers of enormous fortunes, and yet do so in language which is too likely to arouse merely envy and hate. More care ought to be exercised in this regard. If the cause of some of these most unfortunate expressions, indeed, is to be found in the evil passions of the human heart, which no one can deny to be at least occasionally the case, those who utter them ought to begin a work of reform at once within their own souls, for they can never exert a thoroughly good influence until their own natures are actuated by right feelings.

The writer of a poem on Vanderbilt's wealth which appeared in John Swinton's paper of Oct. 28, 1883, may himself perhaps have been animated only with the wish to arouse the attention of the careless and indifferent to what he believed to be evil in our social system; yet there is reason to fear that those who read such productions are more harmed than benefited by them. The poem is entitled "Wm. H. Vanderbillion, the song to be sung in the Reign of the Billionaire. Song of the Billionaire."

The following are three stanzas: —

"I'm a bloater, I'm a bloater,
By my millions all are dazed;
I'm a bloater, I'm a bloater,
On the 'water' I have raised!

* * * * *

"I'm a-drumming, I'm a-drumming
Up the millions, right or wrong;
I'm a-coming, yes, a-coming,
With a thousand millions strong!

* * * * *

"I'm a-nursing, fondly nursing
Well my wealth in coffers crammed;
Public 's cursing, loudly cursing,
But 'the public may be damned!'"

CHAPTER XI.

THE SOCIALISTIC LABOR PARTY.

THE "Manifesto of the Congress of the Socialistic Labor Party," held at Baltimore in December, 1883,[1] contained these principles which had been unanimously adopted as the result, both of their own researches and of the studies of their brothers in Europe:

"Labor being the creator of all wealth and civilization, it rightfully follows that those who labor and create all wealth should enjoy the full result of their toil. Therefore we declare:

"That a just and equitable distribution of the fruits of labor is utterly impossible under the present system of society. This fact is abundantly illustrated by the deplorable condition of the working classes, which are in a state of destitution and degrading dependence in the midst of their own productions. While the hardest and most disagreeable work brings to the worker only the bare necessaries of life, others who labor not riot in labor's production. We furthermore declare:

"That the present industrial system of competition, based on rent, profit-taking, and interest, causes and intensifies this inequality, concentrating into the hands of a few all means of production, distribution, and the results of labor,

[1] A platform somewhat different was adopted at the Fifth National Convention held in Cincinnati in October (5–8), 1885. This will be found in the Appendix.

thus creating gigantic monopolies dangerous to the people's liberties; and we further declare:

"That these monster monopolies and these consequent extremes of wealth and poverty supported by class legislation, are subversive of all democracy, injurious to the national interests, and destructive of truth and morality. This state of affairs, continued and upheld by the ruling political parties, is against the welfare of the people.

"To abolish this system, with a view to establish co-operative production, and to secure equitable distribution, we demand that the resources of life, namely land, the means of production, public transportation, and exchange become as fast as practicable the property of the whole people."

The form of society which the members of the Socialistic Labor Party desire is quite different from the voluntary association of the Anarchist, since they are unable to understand how there can be social ownership of capital, rational production in the interest of all, and an equitable distribution of products without control or regulation. Consequently they are not opposed to the state in itself (*an sich*), but wish to substitute the socialistic state, the people's state, for the present state-form. Combatting anarchy and individualism, they are, in the strict sense of the term, socialists. While they believe in the state, they do not think that national boundaries should constitute barriers to combined action, either now or hereafter, but hold that the interests of the mass of humanity are one in all lands of civilization. The moderates are as strictly internationalists in theory and feeling as the members of the party bearing that name, and, in fact, more nearly resemble the old International of Marx in their organization.

The Socialistic Labor Party is composed of local sections, of which there may be only one in any city, although this

one may be subdivided into "branches." The head of the party is a "National Executive Committee," which is, however, in some respects, subject to a Board of Supervisors. The final decision of conflicts, of course, rests with the members of the party, who manifest their wishes by their votes. A wide sphere of action is also reserved for their conventions or congresses which meet every two or three years.

In opposition to the "reds," the "blues" enforce the necessity of unity in organization as the indispensable preliminary of harmonious activity. The workmen isolated, it is held, can accomplish nothing, but combined in a closely united whole they can carry everything before them and reconstruct the world. "Fellow-workmen," thus the laborers are addressed in their manifesto, "you must rally in one great invincible phalanx, if you hope to gain a foot of ground."

It is to be noticed that this party of socialists is also a political party, which has in times past taken an active part in politics, in a few cases electing their candidates, and which hopes for greater success in the future, though only a few of them indulge the hope that their reforms can be accomplished peaceably by the ballot. But they advise participation in politics because they regard it as an educational aid, bringing their principles before the people and thus becoming a useful means of propagandism. It is also considered helpful in securing an efficient organization of their own party. "Universal suffrage must be regarded as a weapon in battle, not as a means of salvation."[1] Again, the ballot is the best visible evidence of strength, and the growth which it registers must encourage adherents to renewed efforts for an extension of their principles. They

[1] *Der Sozialist*, Jan. 24, 1885.

appear to hope further that it may assist them in securing certain reforms not incompatible with existing economic institutions. But this is not all. As the laborers gain political power, they will attempt to use it in their own behalf; and the ruling classes, it is thought, not being able to consent to this, will rebel and bring on the revolution, which is expected in the end.

The difference between the two parties in respect to revolution, then, is this: the Internationalists desire to begin the revolution and do not shrink from an active initiative in deeds of violence. This the moderates regard as madness, holding that a revolution comes in the natural course of evolution and cannot be "made." The Socialistic Labor Party believes in peaceful agitation and lawful means in behalf of their principles until their enemies force the struggle upon them; as their manifesto puts it, —

"We must expect that our enemies — when they see our power increasing in a peaceful and legal way and approaching victory — will on their part become rebels, just as once did the slave-holders, and that then the time will come, for the cause of labor, when that old prime lever of all revolutions, FORCE . . . must be applied to, in order to place the working masses in control of the state, which then for the first time will be the representative, not of a few privileged classes, but of all society. . . . We surely do not participate in the folly of those men who consider dynamite bombs the best means of agitation to produce the greatest revolution that transpired in the social life of mankind. We know very well that a revolution in the brains of men and the economical conditions of society must precede, ere a lasting success can be obtained in the interest of the working classes."

The doctrine of the Socialistic Labor Party is not that it

is necessary to secure unanimity of opinion, or even the adherence of the majority before their principles can be established, but they think it essential that a large leaven of socialism and a very general understanding of their principles should precede the successful revolution. It is believed that uprisings will occur without their intervention, and these they hope to be able to guide. They desire to raise up leaders for the proletariat who may seize on the fruits of upheavals in society; for they argue that after the masses have hitherto accomplished revolutions, the lack of intelligent, determined leaders with definite aims has enabled others to step in and enjoy the advantages purchased by the blood of the toiling many. Thus the bourgeoisie captured the French Revolution. They do not mean that this shall occur again.

The moderates expect the laborers, in the one way or the other, to gain the political power of the state, which they will then use to reconstruct the state, both politically and economically, in the interest of the entire people. The state, they hold, is now a capitalistic state, because the small but well-organized class of capitalists virtually rule the large but divided class of wage-workers, who constitute four-fifths of the population, and because they do this in such manner as to promote their own welfare at the expense of the masses. The struggle for power hitherto, it is maintained, has been a class-struggle, and the result has always been the triumph of a class in a class-state. The conflict is still between classes, the only two great remaining classes, namely, between capitalists and laborers. This has been the course of development up to the present time, and there is no reason to quarrel with it.[1] It were as wise to get

[1] I trust it is sufficiently plain that I am simply endeavoring to present the opinions of others, not my own.

angry with the laws of motion. But the evolution of preceding ages is soon to terminate in a higher product than the world has yet seen, for when the masses obtain power there will be constituted for the first time not a class-state, not a form of society designed to benefit any groups of individuals, but the true people's state, the folk-state, designed to elevate all alike.

It is maintained that democracy, to be real, must be economic as well as political, and it is this kind of democracy which it is desired to establish. An inconsistency is discovered in the democracies of the present age, which grant equality in political affairs without any attempt to realize justice in distribution of products. But this logical contradiction is regarded as even worse than it appears at first sight, from the fact that economic servitude renders political equality a deceit, a snare for the unwary, since those who control the means of life control the votes. Thus, a disastrous climax is reached, — the equality of all men is proclaimed, and then the hopes raised are frustrated by the restriction of this equality to the political sphere of action; but it does not rest with this curtailment, as indirect means are soon discerned for robbing the people of even political equality. Democracy thus becomes a *simulacrum*.

It is not necessary to add much to what has already been said in explanation of their economic ideas, which, indeed, are not peculiar. These socialists believe in a universal system of co-operation, extending itself over the entire civilized world, and embracing, doubtless, in the end, those countries which are not now so far advanced as to be included within the regions of civilization. The means of production, the basis of co-operative labor, are to be the property of the people as a whole, — like the post-office in the United States now, and railroads and telegraph lines in

other lands, — and the products for consumption are to be distributed "equitably," which can be differently interpreted according to one's notions of justice. Some would doubtless say "according to deeds," which is socialism; others, "according to needs," which might better be called communism.

The Socialistic Labor Party, composed of abler and better-educated men, is far more decent than the International. Its adherents do not indulge to the same extent in the so-called "strong phrases" of the Internationalists, which mean vulgar blackguardism such as would cause a Billingsgate fish-woman to hang her head in envious shame. Again, they do not take such an extreme attitude in regard to religion and the family, neither of which is mentioned in their manifesto, though the *Sozialist*, their official organ, has rejected all supernatural religion. The abandonment of all hope of a union with the extremists has had a most salutary effect upon the moderates. It is likely that before the separation became final, the better men of the party tolerated much of which they must inwardly have disapproved, in order not to estrange their more violent brethren.

The adherents of the Socialistic Labor Party do not regard the present state as so utterly bad that it is not worth while to advocate specific reforms at once, among which their manifesto of 1883 mentions the following: "Bureaus of Labor Statistics, Reduction of the Hours of Labor, Abolition of Contract Convict Labor, Employers' Liability Law, Prohibition of Child Labor, Compulsory Education, Factory, Mine, and Workshop Inspection, Sanitary Inspection of Food and Dwellings, and Payment of Wages in Cash." They also frequently demand the *referendum*, as in Switzerland, and such arrangements as are calculated to give the people an initiative in legislation. Such constitutional changes are ad-

vocated as will abolish the Senate, and substitute a federal council, as in Switzerland, for our presidency.

The three most prominent organs of the moderates are *Der Sozialist*, the official weekly already mentioned, started Jan. 3, 1885, the Philadelphia *Tageblatt*, and the *New Yorker Volkszeitung*, a daily, which also issues a weekly and a Sunday edition. The *Volkszeitung* is in its eighth year, and is decidedly the cleanest and ablest socialistic sheet in the United States. A similar newspaper in the English language, called the *Voice of the People*, was started early in 1883. It appeared as a weekly, but promised a daily edition, which remained an unfulfilled hope, while even the weekly soon died.

An attempt is being made to win English-speaking followers, and the National Executive Committee advertises six pamphlets and a series of socialistic tracts in the English language. An English organ is contemplated. Some progress has been made in winning English-speaking adherents to the party, and large success has met their efforts to diffuse their ideas among the laboring classes; but, as the *Sozialist* frankly acknowledges, they are still a "German colony, a branch of the German social democracy." Indeed, one bond of union holding them together is their interest and active participation in the election of members to the Imperial Parliament of Germany.

CHAPTER XII.

THE STRENGTH OF REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM ITS SIGNIFICANCE.[1]

THE character, aims, and methods of the parties representing socialism in America have now been described, but a yet unanswered question is, What have we to fear from them?

The first step in the reply to this query is the ascertainment of their strength. While it is extremely difficult to make even an approximate estimate, and more than this is impossible, there are several indications of the extent of their power which must be noticed.

One of these signs is their press. The number of papers already enumerated is considerable, and others might be mentioned. Starkweather and Wilson, in their pamphlet, give three lists of journals. The first includes those which are "socialistic," and under this head sixteen journals are mentioned, of which three are dailies. The second list is composed of ten "semi-socialistic" newspapers, of which two appear daily. "Socialistically inclined" periodicals to the number of eight constitute the third class. While some of the journals enumerated have ceased to appear, new ones have sprung up to take their place. It is a point worthy of note that a tireless, persistent effort is making to disseminate the most radical views by means of a press which appears,

[1] In the perusal of this chapter it should be remembered that there are peaceful as well as violent revolutions.

on the whole, to be increasing in power. The larger number of pronounced socialistic papers belong to the extremists, which may be considered as ominous an indication as the fact that they appear in all sections of the country, not excluding those which are supposed to offer the most favorable opportunities to the laborer. Denver, Col., sends us the *Labor Enquirer*, with the motto, "He who would be free himself must strike the blow"; and not long ago the *Tocsin, a Herald of the Coming Revolution*, rang out no uncertain war-cry in Dallas, Tex. The only one of the parties having an English official organ is the International, with its *Alarm;* while the *Voice*, representing the Socialistic Labor Party, a comparatively modest and decent newspaper, failed for lack of support.

It is difficult to estimate the strength of the socialistic newspapers. As already stated, the *Vorbote*, the oldest of them, is in its twelfth year. Their advertising patronage is often fair, which would seem to indicate a respectable circulation. *Truth* claimed a circulation of six thousand, which must be placed over against the fact that it finally ceased to appear for lack of sufficient support and the proprietor's statement that he sank twelve thousand dollars of his own money in the concern. The *Sozialist* in its fourth number[1] claimed 3,389 subscribers, in addition to five hundred copies sent in response to inquiries and distributed to different news companies. The strongest socialistic newspaper in the country is the *New Yorker Volkszeitung*, which has been already mentioned. It is claimed that the three editions of this journal together have a circulation of over thirty thousand, which is larger than that of any other German newspaper in the country with the single exception of the *Staatszeitung* of New York.

[1] Jan. 24, 1885.

But we must not confine ourselves to journals nominally socialistic in our attempts to estimate the influence of the press in the diffusion of socialism among American laborers.

There are several organs of trades-unions which advocate the general principles of socialism, although they do not make that their chief concern, for their aim is first of all to promote the interest of their particular trades. Among these may be mentioned *Der Hammer*, the official organ of the Metal Workers' Union of North America; the *Deutsch-Amerikanische Baecker-Zeitung*, the organ of the Journeyman Bakers' Union; the *Furniture Workers' Journal*, the official organ of the International Furniture Union; *Progress*, the official organ of the Cigar Makers' Progressive Union. *The Carpenter*, the official organ of the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, and some other papers, are described by the *Sozialist* as "well on the road to socialism," but this is a doubtful expression. A person who recognizes the full strength of socialism and acknowledges the good there is in it, and yet sees clearly its weakness, may be, and often is, further from an acceptance of that economic system than its most pronounced but bigoted opponent. Many of the labor papers, however, open their columns for a free discussion of socialism as well as of other questions of the day, and thus give an opportunity for the presentation of socialistic opinions, while taking no definite position either for or against them. A few are undoubtedly socialistic, even when they do not take the position of formal advocates. Such is the *Workmen's Advocate* of New Haven. *The Irish World and Industrial Liberator*, which is said to have an immense circulation, has been claimed as an exponent of socialism, but with how much truth I am unable to say. Finally, it must be noticed that foreign journals like *Le Socialiste* of Paris and *Der Sozial-Demokrat*

the official organ of the German social democracy, published in Zürich, Switzerland, circulate to a limited extent among our French and German laborers. Several organs of socialism have recently begun to appear in England, like the *Christian Socialist*, the monthly *To Day*, and the weekly *Commonweal*, to which the English poet, Morris, contributes regularly. These come to our country and are read by a few. The English organ of the Anarchists, called the *Anarchist*, also finds its way to our shores, but its circulation in the United States is doubtless limited.

Nevertheless, it cannot be said that either socialism or anarchism has a strong press in this country, and it is to be noticed as a welcome sign that the moderate socialists control both the most influential organ and a larger number of newspapers than the extremists. Indeed, it may be said that outside of their own organs the Anarchists and Internationalists control at most the general policy of but two or three labor newspapers. The *Miners' Journal*, of Scammonville, Kan., was mentioned two years ago in *Liberty* as the first instance, so far as the editor could call to mind, of a newspaper "published in the interest of a special class of workers and pointing them to complete liberty as their only hope."

The socialists in Germany almost universally believe in the ballot and participate in elections very generally, so that the results of the elections for members of the Imperial Parliament give one some notion of their strength and of their progress. It was, for example, a reliable indication of growth when the social-democrats sent twenty-four members to the German Parliament in the fall of 1884, while up to that time they had never elected more than thirteen representatives. But in this country a large part of the socialists having abandoned the use of the ballot as a means of agitation,

the fact that they have achieved little success as politicians is not so significant, and the constantly recurring elections give no gauge with which to measure their growth.

While there may have been those in Congress who sympathized with many of their teachings, the socialists have never had a representative in that body who was elected nominally as their candidate. They have, however, elected municipal councillors in Chicago, and have elsewhere gained a few victories through the ballot-box. In 1879 four socialistic aldermen were elected in that city, and the party's candidate for mayor received twelve thousand votes. Three of their candidates for the House of Representatives and State Senate of Illinois were elected the same year. In 1878 they went into the field in Ohio with a State ticket, which received over twelve thousand votes, and this seems to have been their high-water mark in politics in that State. The following year their State ticket in New York received ten thousand votes, or less, and this discouraged them.[1]

At their last congress, in Baltimore, 1883, the Socialistic Labor Party reported the existence of thirty-eight "sections" which were united in the central organization, in addition to a few independent sections. Rapid progress appears to have been made since then, however, as fifty-eight "sections" publish notices of their places and days of meeting, in the *Sozialist* for March 7, 1885, and seventy-two in the issue for July 3, 1886. There is no means of obtaining the exact number of members in each section. The one in New York seems to be quite large, as it is composed of four branches, and Branch One recently numbered two hundred and seventy-five members, while there were thirty applicants for membership. But most of the sections

[1] Report of the Proceedings of the National Convention, held in Allegheny, Pa., 1879–80.

are evidently small, and the total number of enrolled names can be safely estimated as under ten thousand. This is, however, comparatively a small matter. These sections are simply gathering points for the more ardent promoters of the cause. It has been recently stated that there were twenty-five thousand adherents of the party in New York, and if I wished to venture a guess, — a rash thing to do, — I should say that there might be half a million adherents of the general principles of moderate and peaceful socialism in the United States.

The several unions whose organs have already been mentioned in this chapter are composed largely of socialists, and there are socialists in all the labor organizations. This could not be otherwise, for it would be unreasonable to expect a labor organization to refuse admission to a workman, otherwise unexceptionable, because he held a certain theory of industrial society which might not accord with the opinions of the majority. It must also be remembered that socialists who are fired with missionary zeal join the organization purposely to make converts to their faith. Again, when various theories of government are discussed earnestly by men whose circumstances render them comparatively unprejudiced, it is in the nature of things that some should adopt one set of ideas, and some another, and there is no cause of alarm in this. The intellectual stagnation which would follow the cessation of debate and discussion is something far more to be dreaded.

The Declaration of Principles of the Knights of Labor means, undoubtedly, socialism, if one draws the logical conclusion of these statements, and one might be inclined to class them all as socialists at once ; but this would be a serious mistake. They do not bring their socialism forward prominently ; many do not even see that their principles imply

socialism; some of them are violently opposed to the theory itself, and many more to the name; while some do not think at all on the subject. I imagine the best thinkers among them might object to a classification of the Knights as socialists somewhat in these words: "Yes, our Declaration of Principles undoubtedly means socialism, but, after all, it is not fair to call us socialists, in the ordinary sense of the word. Like John Stuart Mill, we contemplate socialism only as a dim and distant ideal, but not as anything capable of realization in the present."

What is said of the Knights of Labor holds equally with reference to the North American Gymnastic Union, although it may be that the socialism of this body is more pronounced. Some of the local unions are avowedly socialistic.

The theory of the inalienable right of the people to the original properties of the soil, as advocated by Henry George in his remarkable book, "Progress and Poverty," cannot be omitted in an account of American socialism, although the realization of the plans of George and his followers would inaugurate only a partial socialism, not complete or pure socialism. It is proposed that society should resume ownership of the soil by a tax equal to the rental value of land. The revenues obtained are to be used to benefit the people as a whole, and this would involve an enormous increase of State functions along certain lines. I believe the ownership of the means of communication and transportation is regarded by Henry George as an essential part of his theory. It must be noticed that the intervention of government would be decreased in many fields of industry, inasmuch as all taxation, except that on land, would be abolished. This feature of the theory may, perhaps, commend it to manufacturers. "Progress and Poverty" has not been published ten years, yet it is now possible to affirm without hesitation that the ap-

pearance of that one book formed a noteworthy epoch in the history of economic thought both in England and America. It is written in an easily understood and brilliant style, is published in cheap editions both in England and America, and in each country has attained a circulation which for an economic work is without precedent. Tens of thousands of laborers have read "Progress and Poverty" who never before looked between the covers of an economic book, and its conclusions are widely accepted articles in the workingman's creed. But there is reason to think that the number of adherents outside of the laboring classes is relatively, quite as large. Men of all occupations are included, — manufacturers, lawyers, merchants, physicians, divines. An organization for the realization of the principles of "Progress and Poverty" has been formed, called the "Tax Reform League." Several newspapers, including at least one daily, support the theory of "Tax Reform," as it is inadequately but rather euphemistically called.

Mention must further be made of the fact that socialists not connected with any party are found in all ranks of society. One comes upon them everywhere, — in the theological seminary, in the law school, in the merchant's counting-room, in the manufacturer's office; and, though all together they constitute a small fraction of the people, one whose attitude is not such as to repel all confidence will be surprised to find so many. College graduates are included among the socialists, and (I mention it for what it is worth) I am inclined to think, judging from such observations as I have been able to make, that those institutions of learning will be found to turn out the most socialists where the students are taught so to abhor it that any frank and full discussion of its merits and its defects becomes impossible.

Socialism has made but slight progress among agricul-

turists; yet the ground is ripe for it in parts of this country. A gentleman of most careful habits of observation, and a representative of the class of large landholders in Illinois, assures the writer that although there is no organized socialism or understanding of any theoretical body of socialistic doctrines among the agricultural laborers in his State, three-fourths of them are in such a frame of mind as to be easy converts even to quite radical socialism. Wherever there are latifundia, agricultural laborers will be found accessible to the arguments of socialists. It has been the case in Spain and Italy, and there is reason to fear that it will prove to be so in our own West to an even more alarming extent in future years.[1]

The reader now has the more important data used in my estimate.

Passing on to the Internationalists, it may be safely said that no one knows their precise strength. There are groups in every part of the United States; but the ties connecting them are so loose that there is no reason to think that even the "Bureau of Information" could have ever given the location of all of them, much less the total number of their adherents. It is possible that each of the two parties of the Internationalists may have embraced ten or fifteen thousand members, including all conected with them by even a loose tie, and quite likely there are two or three hundred thousand people among us who sympathize with their general aims.

It is frequently stated that we have nothing to fear from socialism, because most socialists in America are foreigners. What is the significance of this fact? It means something, but not so much as a superficial observer would suppose. We did not have socialists of our present type in the earlier

[1] See Laveleye's "Socialism of To-day," pp. 222, 232.

period of our history, because the socialism of to-day is itself something new. This theory of society, which is now a subject of much grave anxiety to the civilized world, is scarcely forty years old. The conditions were not ripe for it in other countries in earlier ages, much less in the United States. To-day one of the principal reasons why our socialists are for the most part foreigners is because our laboring population consists chiefly of men and women of foreign birth or foreign parentage, and the bulk of socialistic parties is always composed of working people. Some lines of production in industrial centres are almost entirely carried on by laborers of European birth or parentage. Is there anything in our institutions to change the sentiments of our laboring classes, and to induce them to abandon socialism? Let us indulge in no illusions. There is no valid reason to suppose that a republican form of government is in itself less congenial to socialism than a monarchical; and if socialists disappear in the United States, it will be something else than our existing political institutions which will bring about this consummation. They are far more likely to increase than decrease in number as population grows denser, and the trying times prophesied by Macaulay and Huxley[1] come upon us. Nevertheless, there is ground for the hope that in time the violent hostility of Anarchists to the most cherished possessions of our civilization will become less pronounced in America. American workmen will sooner or later perceive that the Christian Church is not hostile to their just aspirations, but rather their best friend. There is much that is cheerful and promising in the present awakening of our churches to their duty to those for whose benefit Christianity was specially proclaimed in the first days of its history. Europeans coming to our shores will yet learn that a state

[1] In his opening address at the Johns Hopkins University in 1876.

church, supported as the tool of despotism, is one thing, and that the Gospel of Christ is quite another thing. Second, it may be anticipated that republican institutions will teach those who enjoy them that there are better methods than violence of securing the reforms which the people really desire. Third, the determined effort to reform our divorce laws, and purify and elevate the family, which is now making, will show that over-hasty conclusions drawn from corrupt and rotten society are erroneous, — at any rate, if there are the capabilities for good in the American character which we all hope.

"From socialism, as such, the American people, in the writer's opinion, have nothing to fear. So long as socialists confine themselves to peaceful methods there is no reason why their right of free speech should be abridged or even feared. It were wiser to seek to learn anything from them which they have to teach than to become alarmed. It is the glory of America that she has faith to believe that only such institutions as rest upon sound common sense and approved experience will be supported by the people."[1]

There are several reasons for this opinion. Peaceful socialism can be introduced only by degrees in a slow and gradual growth, and we are so far from it, that some advocates, like Lassalle and Rodbertus, speak about a full realization of their aims after the expiration of two, three, and even five hundred years. Now, if our descendants, generations hence, are convinced, as a result of successive experimental steps, that pure socialism is the best industrial form, it certainly need give us no concern, and it were foolish to pass a single sleepless night in lamentations over the prospect. We all hope that our children's children, — in short, all future genera-

[1] Quoted from my article on "Socialism in America" in the *North American Review* for June, 1886.

tions, — will be even more capable than their ancestry to manage the affairs of their own age. Second, socialism, when stripped of all accessories, is simply a theory of industrial society, and if it could be shown that it is a better form of economic life than our present imperfect system, it ought to be welcomed most heartily. I, for my part, do not believe that this is true ; but I fail to see any valid reason why a man who thinks so should be subject to reproach. On the contrary, I see great harm, possibilities of terrible disaster in any serious attempt to suppress free and open inquiry, and to drive error into those gloomy and subterranean channels, where it grows and expands in a congenial atmosphere until it breaks forth in volcanic eruptions.

Finally, the really dangerous forces at work among us are those of disintegration, — the centrifugal not the centripetal. Now, the whole aim and purpose of socialism is a closer union of social factors, and so thoroughly convinced am I that the present need is growth in that direction, so thoroughly persuaded am I that there is no present danger, that we shall advance far enough towards the goal of socialism to intrench on the sphere of the individual, or to commit any irreparable injury, that I could almost say welcome the work of the socialist as a necessary and beneficial bulwark against the anarchy of individualism.[1]

[1] The members of the Socialistic Labor Party realize full well that they have little in common with the Anarchists. A pamphlet has recently been published by the National Executive Committee of this party, entitled "Socialism and Anarchism — Antagonistic Opposites." In the first paragraph, the writer says: "Socialism and anarchism are opposites. . . . Socialists and Anarchists, as such, are enemies. They pursue contrary aims, and the success of the former will forever destroy the fanatical hopes of the latter." The Socialists are weak in Chicago because the Anarchists are strong. They claim that if they had had more influence in that city, the horrible tragedy of May 4 would never

But if socialism in itself is not to be feared, quite the opposite is the case with respect to the violence of the Internationalists.

It is evident that there is no danger in any near future, — probably not in the lifetime of any who read this, — of a total overthrow of republican institutions in this land. Giving the men of violence credit for all the forces they can possibly claim, they could muster under their banners only a comparatively small part of the population, and this composed of men scattered from Maine to California, and from Michigan to Georgia, and chiefly raw, undrilled laborers, without competent leaders, or the resources which are the sinews of war. But does it consequently follow that they could do no serious damage? Let him who thinks so remember the loss of life and property in 1877, the latter estimated at not less than one hundred millions of dollars. Now that is exactly what we have to fear, another 1877; and this is precisely that for which the Anarchists are preparing. It is a refrain which one finds repeatedly in all their publications: "Get ready for another 1877 — buy a musket for a repetition of 1877." "Buy dynamite for a second 1877." "Organize companies and drill, to be ready for a recurrence of the riots of 1877."

Truth, in its number for Dec. 15, 1883, published an article entitled: "Street Fighting. — How to use the Military Forces of Capital when it is Necessary! — Military Tactics for the Lower Classes." It purports to be written by an officer in the United States army, and a military authority informs the writer, that the substance of this article, although possessing little merit, is not of such a character as to render this impossible. It suggests new methods of building barri-

have occurred. It is true that they have condemned every proposal of such acts as madness.

cades, and improved methods of meeting attacking troops. Numerous and apparently reasonable diagrams are given. "Military knowledge," says the officer in the army of the United States, "has become popularized a little even since 1877, and it would not be hard to find, in every large city of the world to-day, upon the side of the people, some fair leaders capable of meeting the enemy in some such way as this." Then follows one of the diagrams.

The *Vorbote* has recently published a series of articles on the arming of the people. One sentiment often repeated is this: "We have shown too much mercy in the past. Our generous pity has cost us our cause. Let us be relentless in the coming struggle."

Truth, in its issue dated Nov. 3, 1883, quotes Félix Pyat to this effect: "We have the right, we have the power; defend it, employ it! without reserve, without remorse, without scruples, without mercy. . . . War to the extreme, to the knife. A question of life or death, for one of the two shall rest on the spot. . . . For the good of the people, iron and fire. All arms are human, all forces legitimate, and all means sacred. We desire peace; the enemy wants war. He may have it absolutely. Killing, burning — all means are justifiable. Use them; then will be peace!"

The revolutionists claim that while the first 1877 took them unawares, they will be armed to the teeth and ready for the second, which will usher in the dawn of a new civilization. It is surprising that many of them in their fury and fanaticism, expect the present generation will not pass away until all their dreams are fulfilled, and not one stone of our old civilization is left on another. There is no doubt about their terrible earnestness. One of them addressed recently an epistle to the writer, demanding of him whether in the coming conflict he would be found fighting on the side of

the oppressed or the oppressor, — "on the side of socialism or capitalism." In fact, a very little association and familiarity with the socialists is sufficient to convince one of their earnestness, as well as of the fact that property does not, by any means, invariably make conservatives of men.

Now can there be any doubt about the seriousness of the situation? If it were known that one thousand men, like the notorious train robbers, the James' boys, were in small groups scattered over the United States, would not every conservative and peace-loving householder be filled with alarm, and reasonably so? Yet here we have more than ten times that number educated to think robbery, arson, and murder justifiable, nay, even righteous; taught to believe the slaughter of the ruling classes a holy work, and prepared to follow it with all the fanaticism of religious devotion, ready to die if need be, and prepared to stifle all feelings of gratitude and natural affection, and to kill with their own hands every opponent of the grand cause. It is, indeed, as President White has pointed out, an anomaly in our legislation, that it is lawful for a man like John Most to preach wholesale massacre, while it is criminal for A to incite B to slay C. And this Most[1] is the lion among the extremists in the United States; this man who, on account of his excessive violence, was repudiated by his own countrymen, and almost unanimously expelled from the social democratic party of Germany. There are those who, when extensive and riotous strikes again occur, will remember the teachings which are entering into their flesh and blood, yes, into their very soul, and will take their muskets and their dynamite, and "descend

[1] Most continued to sink in the estimation even of the Anarchists, — even still more of the laboring classes, by whom he had always been abhorred, — until his imprisonment which has done a little — not much — to restore him to favor.

into the streets," and, thinking the great day has arrived, will cast about right and left, and seek to demolish, to annihilate all the forces and resources of wealth and civilization.[1] While the result will be their inevitable defeat, it will cause sorrow and bloodshed to the defenders of our institutions, as well as to the rebels, and will drive further apart than ever before in this land, the two great classes of industrial society, — employers and employees.[2]

What we have to fear then is large loss of life, estrangement of classes, incalculable destruction of property, and a shock to the social body, which will be a serious check to our economic growth for years to come.

Something more serious still is among the possibilities, for it should be understood that the civilization of modern times will be subjected to severer tests than those which have overthrown the glory of ancient states. It has been supposed that the accumulations of knowledge, of culture, of wealth could no longer be annihilated, because gunpowder and the implements of modern warfare have rendered it impossible for savages and barbarians to vanquish advanced nations. This is true, but false is the not overwise conclusion so often drawn from this fact, that uninterrupted progress of the race for all future time is a certainty. It is not always easy to read aright the lessons of human history ; but plain and clear, and unquestioned do the annals of the past

[1] At such a time, even one man may do vast damage.

[2] This entire paragraph is re-printed, without the change of a word, from my " Recent American Socialism," which was written early in 1885. I think there has already been a partial realization of the fears there expressed. Of course, the Chicago massacre occurs to every one; but those regions in America where there has been most violence in connection with recent strikes, have been precisely those, so far as I know, which have been most under the influences of the ideas of the Internationalists.

reveal a power which "makes for righteousness," and which — call it what we will — passes judgment on the nations of the earth, and dooms those to decay and destruction which have ceased to help onward the growth of mankind. The moment advance stops, the seeds of final overthrow begin to take root in the soil. Now, I apprehend that what has been true of the past will hold good for the future. I believe that Almighty God — for thus do most of us call the supreme power revealed in history — still judges the nations of earth, and exacts more from them than ever before, because of their grander opportunities. The dangers which threaten civilization have not disappeared; their nature has changed. No longer do they proceed from without, but from within. Our foes are those of our own household. Threatening disasters are domestic, not foreign.

The beginning of the wonderful inventions of the past four centuries was accompanied by equally marvellous discoveries of new and comparatively unoccupied lands — notably the entire Western Hemisphere. The march of civilization continued its westward course, and first, in our day, is it beginning to double on itself. The Occident and the Orient now touch; growth has been extensive; now that the room for expansion is disappearing, it must become intensive![1] Population becomes denser, and at the present rate of increase will, in a few generations, present a crowded appearance all the earth over; and, in the meantime, the power of one man to do injury is increasing with alarming rapidity.

Again, the vicious character of certain elements which congregate in cities, is proverbial, and their viciousness grows with their opportunities. Did not Bismarck, indeed, long ago express the wish that all great cities, because hot-beds of revolution, should be swept off the surface of the earth!

[1] Africa, as a field for settlement, may delay or turn the tide a little.

We have found security in this country in the large number of rural homes but these diminish relatively with the growth of great cities, and it is precisely this growth which has characterized American progress. In 1790, 3.3 per cent of the population of the United States lived in cities; in 1880, 22.5; in 1800, there were six American cities with a population of 8,000, or more; in 1880, 286. From 1790 to 1880, our entire population increased twelve-fold, but our urban population, eighty-six-fold. The growth of cities has not been peculiar to the United States, but has been common to the civilized world. It lies in the nature of our civilization, and can be retarded by no weak and foolish outcries. It is part and parcel of our economic development, and as such, is certain to continue in the future. Every new railway, every mechanical invention, every improved industrial process, concentrates the population in cities.

This is not written to excite undue alarm, but to call attention to the nature of forces now at work in the world. There are many hopeful signs. The truth, in a single sentence, is this: the potentialities in the civilized world, either for good or for evil, are grand beyond historical precedent, and the use made of them depends largely upon the intellectual enlightenment and the ethical elevation of the present generation.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE REMEDIES.

NOW arises that old question, What shall we do about it? Well, there is no simple, easily applied formula which will cure social evils, and any one who pretends to have at his command a panacea for the ailments of the body politic, is a quack worthy of no respect.

Certainly it cannot be my purpose, in the few remaining pages of the present book, to present an elaborate scheme of social regeneration. My aim is a more modest one. It is only to give a few suggestions, scarcely more than hints, which may be useful to the reader, enabling him to contribute to a better utilization of the world's experience, and of established rules of moral conduct.

First of all, it is a time for those men to keep quiet, who, little in heart and mind, have no better remedy for social phenomena which do not please them, than physical force. They fail absolutely to understand the age in which they live, and will involve us all in ruin, if allowed to execute their savage plans. This applies equally to men of all social classes. Nevertheless, legal repression has its own place. Outbreaks of violence must be repressed, and that even more for the sake of the workingmen themselves than for their employers; for the preservation of law and order is an indispensable condition of the maintenance of such blessings as civilization has already brought us. If the law is sometimes hard and unjust, the laborer should remember that

without law we can have no state, and that the state alone can save us from that reign of anarchy, in which no bounds could be set to the oppression of the strong and cunning. There is, then, no doubt that punishment[1] should be meted out to those who violate the laws of the land, and exceptionally severe punishment to those who aim, by means of violent action, at their total overthrow. But of more importance than severity in the administration of criminal law, is certainty and celerity of punishment. This is not likely to be disputed, but when we come to agitation and incitement to revolution in a general way, there is more disagreement in regard to the course to be pursued. However, it is safe to say that the outcome of past experience is against legal interference with theorists before they proceed to overt acts. With ten times more favorable opportunities than exist in the United States, Bismarck has tried the enactment of severe laws against the socialists in Germany, but with very unsatisfactory results; so unsatisfactory that it may be questioned whether he has not strengthened the social democrats. He has rendered several services to them; he has united hostile factions into one compact party; he has, in his persecutions, enabled them to pose as martyrs, and actually to feel themselves such, and that is a great source of strength; finally, he has made propaganda for them, and drawn to them the sympathies of well-meaning people.

Every possible obstacle to their political action has had this result. They have elected the largest number of members of Parliament, since these laws against them were in force. Russia, France, and Germany, all serve as warning against restrictions upon the socialists in the United States.

This leads naturally to the recent endeavors to suppress

[1] Yet mitigating circumstances may be considered. Justice, when tempered with mercy, is strongest.

the boycott, by the infliction of imprisonment upon those guilty of the offence. What has it accomplished? First, it is important to know the view which the laborers take of the boycott, and the impression which the severe sentences upon their companions has produced. I will state their case in a few words.

The boycott has been employed against obnoxious individuals from time immemorial. In 1327 the citizens of Canterbury, England, boycotted the monks of Christ's church, meeting in an open field, and passing these resolutions among others: "That no one, under penalties to be imposed by the city, should inhabit the prior's houses; that no one should buy, sell, or exchange drinks or victuals with the monastery, under similar penalties." The history of the United States may almost be said to open with a boycott of English tea and other wares, which, approved and supported by our best and most patriotic citizens, has been repeated several times.[1] A systematic boycott of slave-made products was begun by the abolitionists fifty years ago.[2] Temperance people have used the boycott to repress the liquor nuisance time and time again, and men who have endeavored to draw profit from the corruption of young people, have been driven from their homes by this weapon. Clergymen have employed the boycott repeatedly, and they have recently recommended that it be directed against the Sunday newspaper. Railways have entered into combinations, and have aided one another to boycott innocent members of the community and other companies. Associations of business

[1] "Thus was the boycott born in the cradle of American liberty." — Quoted from *Workmen's Advocate.*

[2] See the "Sisters Grimké," by Catherine H. Birney, Boston, 1885, and other works on the anti-slavery agitation. A store was established in Baltimore to aid the boycott.

men have often boycotted those who would not unite with them in some money-making scheme.[1] Above all, there is the long standing boycott of labor, known as the black-list, which has ruined thousands of poor workingmen. Now, none of these men who have taught us the use of the boycott, say the laborers, have been punished, although their conspiracies are well known; but as soon as we begin to employ the weapon against our oppressors, there is a howl from Maine to California, and our brave friends are sent to the penitentiary, like common criminals. This is not justice; it is class hate. Before, the poor man's ox was gored; now, the rich man's. That is the sole and only difference. We have done no wrong. We have simply let people alone who have injured us, and appealed to public opinion to support us in resistance to tyranny and oppression. The charge of extortion is simply trumped up against us. The money received was to defray the expenses of a course of action forced upon us, and to mitigate the suffering caused thereby to workingmen. It was an amicable adjustment of grievances, such as takes place every day. As well imprison the employer who extorts money from his employees for injuries caused by bad work or tardiness, or for other causes often imaginary!

Now, having presented the laborer's view, not my own, I

[1] The labor papers cite as an example the "National Burial Case Association," and one of them, the *Labor Bulletin*, reprints a circular of this body in which it is resolved "That the members of this association pledge themselves not to buy a coffin, hardware, dry goods, metallics, glass, varnishes, or other supplies, of any firm or corporation who sells to non-members of this association, who are selling goods at less prices than the association list." Four boycotted firms are named in the circular. A boycotted undertaker has recently brought his case before the courts in New York. Innumerable examples of the boycott of every kind may be found in the labor press.

will give a few quotations to show the impression made on the laboring classes by the recent action of the courts: —

"The boycott will be continued, but with increased severity. If an indemnification for the expenses of the boycott is regarded as extortion, nothing will remain but to boycott until the offender is completely ruined, in order that others may take warning therefrom." — *Bakers' Journal.*

"The sentences of the five boycotters of Theiss . . . to unusually long terms of imprisonment, is seed sown by the party of money-bags, which will not bring forth roses. The expectation that this severe punishment would discourage the laborers rests upon a weak footing. . . . The laborers will become more than ever convinced, that justice is meted out with one measure to them, and with another to those who have money. Bitterness will unite them more strongly than ever before. The idea that they are citizens of a free republic, with equal rights, will vanish, and the conviction will arise that here, also, the struggle of class has begun. . . . Formerly, the laborers were not so united as they should have been, but now they will become united. The movement becomes serious. . . . Persecution has strengthened the labor parties in Germany and France, and made them irresistible. This will happen here, and it is good!" — *Bakers' Journal.*

"The sentence passed on the boycotters has poured flaming fire into the hearts of the workingmen in New York, and has driven to the background all differences in labor's camp. It has united the many-voiced choir of the organizations in a single powerful cry of indignation." — *The Socialist.*

"Atrocious Judges.

"There was a book published before the war . . . under the title of 'Atrocious Judges,' which described the judicial reptiles of the pro-slavery bench, who were then foremost in hounding slaves and persecuting their friends. It was a book of terrific records, from those of the ever-infamous Jeffries down to those

of Taney, who found that 'negroes had no rights which white men were bound to respect.'

"It seems about time to get out a new edition of that book, with the new names of the ATROCIOUS JUDGES who are chronicling their own shame in the pro-capitalist decisions of these times."— *John Swinton's Paper*, June 13, 1886.

"THE LEAP IN THE DARK.

"BARRETT'S WAR OF CRUSHING THE BOYCOTTERS.

"HOW A TRICKSTER'S STATUTE WAS USED BY A VINDICTIVE JUDGE "TO BRAND FIVE HONEST WORKINGMEN.

"The vindictiveness of the ruling classes has found expression in the condemnation of five workingmen to various terms of imprisonment with hard labor at Sing Sing. It would be difficult to imagine a more flagrant outrage of every sense of justice in the name of 'law and order,' a more cruel exercise of power upon a false pretence, or conduct more impolitic on the part of officials charged with a delicate duty, and invested with wide discretion, in the case of these Theiss boycotters, whom class hate has branded as felons. . . . 'Whom the gods would destroy, they first make mad.'" — *John Swinton's Paper*.

This is sufficient to show the impression produced. "But what is your opinion?" the reader asks.

It seems to me, first, that the boycott is wrong; — at any rate, as it has been conducted. It may be right for people to appeal to public opinion, to put down a gross abuse in a quiet and orderly manner. If clergymen think the Sunday newspaper a sin, it is their duty to advise people not to patronize it; but to distribute circulars, and fairly force the customers of a man to leave him, is a different matter. It condemns a man untried, and is liable to the grossest abuses, calculated to injure employer and employed, and the general

public in addition. At best, it is a doubtful remedy. It is a movement in precisely the wrong direction.

Nevertheless, it is not so clear that a law should be passed declaring boycotting illegal. Professor von Waltershausen, of the University of Zürich, a man of ability, who has given the American labor movement more careful study, probably, than any other man in Europe,[1] after a painstaking examination of the subject, pronounced against it, although recognizing the gravity of the evil, because he thought it would turn the laborers against the State; and if political science teaches one lesson more clearly than another, it is the danger of implanting hostility to government, as such, in the hearts of the masses.

It seems to me that the whole subject should have been carefully discussed in our legislatures, and laws enacted to restrain the excesses of the boycott. As to the course which has been taken, I would not be misunderstood, when I express the opinion, that American history records few more disastrous mistakes, and that I fear greatly we shall see sad consequences of it within ten years, sadder still within twenty years, unless more powerful conservative forces are brought into action than are now manifest. I join in no condemnation of a judge whose personal character or official integrity may, for aught I know, be beyond question. I can readily understand that he may have done with pain what he thought his duty in a crisis in American history. I simply say that I think he committed an error of judgment. What is the result? He has united, as never before in America, the laborers in one solid mass, and he has given the entire labor movement a most unfortunate impulse towards radicalism. This may be seen in a thousand dif-

[1] He has brought out a book entitled "Die Nord Amerikanischen Gewerkschaften," Berlin, 1886.

ferent ways. One is the recent attendance of thousands at a mass-meeting, called by socialists in New York to condemn the action of the courts in the case of the boycotters, and the harmonious action of socialists and workingmen in that city. Nothing else could have brought this about. The conservative elements among the laborers, like Powderly and many editors of labor papers, and their friends, like Washington Gladden, Heber Newton, Howard Crosby, Lyman Abbott, — all, by the way, clergymen, — were earnestly admonishing the laborers to pursue a legal and even a conciliatory course. The boycott was condemned again and again by laborers, as injurious even to those who used it, and as unjust, and there was every prospect of a restriction and regulation of the boycott all along the line. Now, the conservatives find the work of years overthrown. There is a howl among the Anarchists from Boston to San Francisco: "Ho, ye fools! ye men of law and order! What have we always told you? Law is only for the poor! It is the rich man's instrument of oppression." And to-day there is a sympathy among workingmen for the Chicago Anarchists on trial for a brutal massacre of the authorities, which would have seemed inconceivable six months since. Never have I seen such indignation among the masses, although I was in Germany when the anti-socialistic law of 1878 was passed. There the matter was fully discussed, and a law, clear and precise in its terms, was passed, and published in every nook and corner of the land. Cruel and unjust, it doubtless was considered, but no one could dispute that it was law. The judicial decisions in New York do not appeal to the working classes as interpretations of actual law, but as a perversion of law for class purposes.

From *Truth* of Jan. 26, 1884, and a recent number of the *Sozialist*, we may gain a hint as to the true policy.

In speaking of the indiscriminate use of dynamite as a means of propaganda, *Truth* says: "Its effect would be directly reactionary. Either it would induce repressive laws, abrogating the rights we have now, which permit us to spread our doctrines, or it *would wring from the fears of the bourgeoisie such ameliorative measures as might postpone for centuries the final struggle for complete emancipation.*" The *Sozialist* of Jan. 3, 1885, predicts that they, the socialists, will obtain assistance in their propaganda from their enemies, who will increase discontent among the masses, and thus prepare heart and mind for the seed they expect to sow.

The two words used by *Truth*, "ameliorative measures," indicate the correct method of dealing with social problems. We must listen to complaints of those who feel that they are oppressed, and not suppose that the demands of even socialists are unjust, simply because they are made by socialists. Who can object to them when they complain because they are not allowed to rest one day out of seven; because child-labor is tolerated; because families are scattered in workshops, and family life in any true sense of the word becomes an impossibility? It would indeed be well could every rich and well-to-do person be persuaded to listen to their complaints as they appear in their papers, in order to know how they feel and what they suffer[1]; or if the wealthy could more generally be induced to examine for

[1] If every man and woman of social standing superior to that of the working classes, could be persuaded to read a paper like *John Swinton's Paper*, the *Haverhill* (Mass.) *Laborer*, the *Baltimore Labor Free Press*, or others which I might name, and every intelligent laborer could be induced to read the writings of men like Lyman Abbott, Howard Crosby, Washington Gladden, T. Edwin Brown, and Newman Smyth, true progress in the future would be assured.

themselves the way poor and honest people are often obliged to live. Let the careless and indifferent but read the articles which lately appeared in the *Christian Union*, on the condition of the poor in American cities, or a single pamphlet like "The Bitter Cry of Outcast London," describing the life of the London laborer from the observation of city missionaries, and issued by the London Congregational Union![1] And if he thinks, as is too often said, that the laborers become accustomed to their lot and contented, let him but read their utterances in the labor press, or listen to them in their meetings! There are certain things a man can never get used to, as for example, an empty stomach and a home without fire. When poverty is extreme, it often sinks more and more deeply into the consciousness of the sufferer, and the burden grows with the weight of years.

Then it must not be forgotten that this age is not as other ages. There has been great progress in the intelligence of the laboring classes, and political equality has stimulated the desires of the masses for a larger share of material riches. The means of production have been improved in a marvellous manner, and the increase of wealth has been enormous. The question the laborer asks is not simply whether he receives more absolutely, but whether he receives as much in proportion to what the other classes of society enjoy. His wants have grown, and he is inclined to doubt whether he is as well able to gratify his legitimate needs as formerly. There may have been a time, for example, when he could not read. Then it was no hardship to him that he was unable to buy books. The case is different now.

We ought, then, to listen to the demands the socialists and the laboring classes generally make of the present state, and

[1] See also "The Bitter Cry of the Poor in New York," by Mrs. J. R. Lowell, *Christian Union*, March 26, 1885.

discuss them in a spirit of candor, and grant them in so far as they may be just. It has already been seen what the Socialistic Labor Party desires of society in its present form, and while it may be true that few political economists would assent to the practicability of all the measures they advocate, they are certainly worthy of discussion. Undoubtedly, one often meets with radical and apparently absurd propositions in the perusal of labor literature, but, on the other hand, one discovers at times a surprising spirit of conservatism, and is obliged to admit that many demands are perfectly legitimate, as the following "Platform and Supplementary Resolutions" of the Federation of Trades and Labor Unions abundantly prove.

"PLATFORM.

"1. The national eight-hour law is one intended to benefit labor, and to relieve it partly of its heavy burdens, and the evasion of its true spirit and intent is contrary to the best interests of the nation. We therefore demand the enforcement of said law in the spirit of its designers, and urge the enactment of eight-hour laws by State Legislatures and municipal corporations.

"2. We demand the passage of laws in State Legislatures and in Congress for the incorporation of trades and labor unions, in order that the property of the laboring classes may have the same protection as the property of other classes.

"3. We demand the passage of such legislative enactments as will enforce, by compulsion, the education of children, for if the State has the right to exact certain compliance with its demands, then it is also the duty of the State to educate its people to the proper understanding of such demands.

"4. We demand the passage of laws in the several States forbidding the employment of children under the age of fourteen years, in any capacity, under penalty of fine and imprisonment.

"5. "We demand the enactment of uniform apprentice laws

throughout the country; that the apprentice to a mechanical trade may be made to serve a sufficient term of apprenticeship, and be provided by his employer, in his progress to maturity, with proper and sufficient facilities to finish him as a competent workman.

"6. It is hereby declared the sense of this congress that convict or prison contract labor is a species of slavery in its worst form; it pauperizes labor, demoralizes the honest manufacturer, and degrades the very criminal whom it employs; and as many articles of use and consumption made in our prisons under the contract system, come directly and detrimentally in competition with the products of honest labor, we demand that the laws providing for labor under the contract systems herein complained of be repealed.

"7. What is known as the 'order' or 'truck' system of payment, instead of lawful currency as value for labor performed, is one not only of gross imposition, but of downright swindle to the honest laborer and mechanic, and we demand its entire abolition. Active measures should be taken to eradicate the evil, by the passage of laws imposing fine and imprisonment upon all individuals, firms, or corporations who continue to practice the same.

"8. We demand the passage of such laws as will secure to the mechanic and workingman the first lien upon property, the product of his labor, sufficient in all cases to justify his legal and just claims.

"9. We demand the repeal and erasure from the statute books of all acts known as conspiracy laws, as applied to organizations of labor in the regulation of wages.

"10. We recognize the wholesome effects of a Bureau of Labor Statistics, as created by the National Government and in several States, and recommend for their management the appointment of a proper person, identified with the laboring classes of the country.

"11. We demand the passage of a law by the United States Congress to prevent the importation of all foreign laborers under contract.

"12. We declare that the system of letting out national, State, and municipal work by contract tends to intensify the competition between workmen, and we demand the speedy abolishment of the same.

"13. We demand the passage by our various legislative bodies of an employers' liability act, which shall give employees the same right to damages for personal injuries that all other persons have.

"14. We recommend all trades and labor organizations to secure proper representation in all law-making bodies, by means of the ballot, and to use all honorable measures by which this result can be accomplished.

"SUPPLEMENTARY RESOLUTIONS.

"1. That we urge upon the Legislatures of our several States the passage of laws of license upon stationary engineers, and the enforcement of proper restrictions, which will better preserve and render protection to life and property.

"2. That we demand strict laws for the inspection and ventilation of mines, factories and workshops, and sanitary supervision of all food and dwellings.

"3. We demand of our representatives in the National Legislature that they declare such land grants as are not earned by railroads or corporations forfeited, and to restore the same to the public domain."

The complaints of the socialists are often but too well grounded, when they criticise things as they are. Our laws regulating joint-stock corporations, for example, sadly need reforming, so as to prevent much dishonest manipulation of joint-stock concerns which might easily be avoided. One ought to be indignant when one sees familiar operations like this: A company is established; a few get control of the management; declare an unearned dividend; pay it out of the capital; then unload and acquire wealth at

the expense of the widow, the orphan, and the toiler.[1] It is needless to multiply examples. If we turn to our governments, we shall find in Star Route contracts and Tweed ring frauds, much to help us to understand why some people have gradually come to desire the overthrow of all that exists of human contrivances, as preliminary to a new era.[2]

Happily, much is being done to remedy abuses, and in many quarters a most hopeful desire is manifest to bring wealthy criminals to justice and to strive for needed reforms; and if the leaders of society evince an increasing willingness to listen to grievances of labor, to discuss their propositions and redress their wrongs, they will draw away from violent agitators the strongest and best of the workingmen, and render the revolutionists comparatively harmless. To cite an example, no one can withstand the devotion of a life like Peter Cooper's, and it was touching to read the evidences of the appreciation of his deeds on the part of the laboring classes. Even *Truth* contained an obituary notice of him, in which the highest and most unreserved praise was accorded to his deeds.

The same journal contained a long and appreciative review of a book which had simply attempted to describe socialism impartially, with these words: "We hope the book

[1] I have spent part of several summers in a little village where precisely that thing was done a few years ago. It is a new experience to the inhabitants to see men guilty of a penitentiary offence, respected members of society. It may be doubted whether the town will in the future be quite what it has been in the past.

[2] These wrongs are directed against society as a whole, but there are abuses as grievous directed against the laboring classes as such. One of them recently occurred in Maryland, where the Miners' Ventilation Bill was stolen after it had passed the Legislature, but before it received the governor's signature.

will be extensively read by socialists, and that each reader will profit by the unprejudiced manner in which the historical facts and doctrinal matters are set forth, and that we shall learn to emulate the enemy in the coolness of our judgment and the calmness of our criticism." On the other hand, a socialistic journalist informs the writer, that only one who has mingled, as he has, for years with the laboring classes, can form any conception of the harm done by a recent book, which treated social problems in quite a different spirit, putting the whole question of reform on an unfair basis, and treating the discontented with irritating impatience and stinging harshness. In the words of this journalist: "Mr. —— I regard as a bad man, one of the most dangerous of 'the dangerous classes.' Unless you mingled, as I have done, with the proletarians many years, and knew by experience their feelings, you could not conceive the infinite injury such a man does to the cause he espouses. It inflames them more than standing armies and Gatling batteries."

It is true, a man was never won by cruel reproaches, and a strong government has its roots in the hearts of the people. It still holds that love is more powerful that hate.

The laboring classes are accessible to arguments by those who understand them and really wish them well, and the columns of their papers are open to those who would influence them for good. At present there is a grand opportunity for men to do good, which may not occur again, for the minds of the masses are still plastic, and their habits of thought are being formed. As Frederic Harrison says, the workingmen of our day are glad to listen to the word of one who comes to them as a friend, provided his message be not "the perpetual, monotonous lie, 'It is all very good and right.'"

They are ready to learn the truth, and are grateful to those who try to help them.[1] To Christian people in particular would I repeat words used on another occasion. When these laborers, who reject Christianity as it is in our churches, speak of Christ, it is often with touching reverence, as a noble soul who sympathized with the trials of their class. And when they denounce religion, they will affirm at times, "We are the only true Christians"; and I do believe that among the masses in America there never was such a hunger and thirst for real Christianity as to-day. What they complain of in substance is, not that there is too much Christianity, but that there is too little; not that people are Christians, but that there is such a divergence between profession and practice, that the church has become "of the world"; that it has (so they think) been captured by the

[1] Letters which I have received from workingmen in all parts of the United States, would move even a hard heart. Here is one from a poor mechanic, an adherent of Henry George, and save in the inclosure of money, it is merely typical. The reference is to some articles on co-operation. "I am very much pleased with the articles, not only for the information they give, but more especially because of the spirit of sympathy they evince towards all lawful endeavors of the workers to improve their condition. I am glad to see them in a religious paper (the *Congregationalist*), without any sickly apology from the editor. I thank you for them. Wish I could send them to every one of my acquaintances.

"I expect to start to-morrow for southern Kansas, to take up a claim; but I hope self-interest will never prevent me from doing all I can to advance the principle of common property in land. . . . Enclosed find $5.00, which you will please use for me in the cause of humanity, and oblige, Yours truly, ——."

Professor Brentano says that in spite of all that has been asserted to the contrary, it still remains true that before the enactment of the laws of 1878 German workingmen were always willing to listen to a manly, sympathetic word from one of another social class.

rich and made a part of the mechanism of fashion; that pews have doors and locks, and that the aisles are guarded by ushers, not merely to show people in, but to keep them out; that church privileges are sold — at times even literally auctioned off for money.

A wider diffusion of sound ethics is an economic requirement of the times. Christian morality is the only stable basis for a State professedly Christian. An ethical demand of the present age is a clearer perception of the duties of property, intelligence, and social position. It must be recognized that extreme individualism is immoral. Extreme individualism is social anarchy, and — to cite a comparison recently made in Hopkins Hall — the first social Anarchist was Cain, who asked indignantly if he were his brother's keeper. *Laissez-faire* politics assure us we are not keepers of our brothers, that each one best promotes the general interest by best promoting his own. There are those who tell us in the name of science, that there is no duty which one class owes to another, and that the nations of the earth are mere collections of individuals, with no reciprocal rights and duties. It is time for right-thinking persons, and particularly for those who profess Christianity, to protest vigorously, in season and out of season, against such doctrines wherever found. As a friend, a professor in one of our leading colleges, forcibly puts it, the error of this school of political economists is that fundamental one of Herbert Spencer's ethical system, — "a determination to ignore law and its sanctions."

A higher and more advanced political economy proclaims all this false, and asserts that within certain bounds we are obliged to concern ourselves about the welfare of others. Even less than law does political economy recognize any absolute proprietary rights, and in a higher ethical sense all

our goods are but intrusted to us as stewards, to be administered in promoting the welfare of our fellow-men, as well as our own, and equally with our own. If the rulers of our society remember this and act upon it, they surely never need dread the laborer.

When we pass in review the several thousand years of human history, we discover one feature of the progress of the race to be a gradual extension of the range of ethical ideas; in other words, as the centuries have passed, man has included an ever-increasing portion of his fellows within the circle of those towards whom he feels bound to act in accordance with the data of ethics. Once moral obligations did not extend beyond the clan or tribe, and the same word signified enemy and stranger, but the tribe has finally given way to the nation, and those of the same nationality have felt drawn together with an ethical tie; and in this century men feel, as never before, that all men of all kindreds and tongues on the face of the earth, are embraced within the sphere of reciprocal rights and duties. The word humanity means more to-day than at any past period in the history of the race. The extension of practical ethics has been accompanied by an intensive growth. The stream has deepened. Yet the ethical ideas of most people move chiefly along horizontal lines, and do not extend up and down to those above and below them in rank or position. Social lines are considered ethical lines. There is one code for those in one class, and quite another one for those who are outside of this class. We are apt to recognize a more stringent law as binding upon us in our intercourse with one whom we regard as a social equal, though he be a native of a distant land, than with the resident of the same town, whom we consider as an inferior. The absolute ideal was given two thousand years ago by Christ, who established the most perfect

system of ethics the world has ever known. This ideal is the doctrine of human brotherhood, and its one universal, all-inclusive rule is, "All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them."

We are far from this ideal, and yet progress has been made. The condition of the laborer has gradually improved on the whole. He has passed through slavery and serfdom, and has in the civilized world become a free man. It is no longer regarded as morally right to hold those who work for us in the bonds of slavery. Yet we all transgress most grievously the law of brotherhood. Take the case of us who belong to social classes held to be superior to the working class, — the educated and well-to-do. We judge our companions with one rule, and workingmen with quite another. Let us suppose there is a controversy between an employer and his employees. Do we not at once accept the statement of the employer, without any inquiry into the case as presented by the employees; whereas, if the dispute is between two employers, we suspend judgment until we hear both sides? Yet there is no evidence that the employers as a class are more truthful than their employees. The fact is, we are not yet ethically developed up to that point where it occurs to us that we are bound to hear the case of an inferior. But this is not all. Many of us, if we will not knowingly and maliciously lie about laborers, yet do not regard it as necessary to inquire too carefully about the stories we repeat. We take up our newspapers, which in controversies give the *ex parte* statements of employers, and just such garbled reports of the side of the employed as to present a specious appearance of impartiality, and at once eagerly swallow every hard and bitter word spoken in the heat of violent altercation; then we solemnly proceed to damn the laboring

classes, and all their wicked organizations.[1] Take two illustrations: The experiment of the mine-owners, Briggs Brothers, in England, in profit-sharing, is told in Mill's "Political Economy," and has become known the world over. That experiment has been abandoned, and the blame, almost as a matter of course, thrown on the workmen. Messrs. Briggs Brothers have told their story, and every newspaper has hastened to print it, and their interpretation of the difficulties has passed into text-books. Yet this is not wilfully malicious. It is due to imperfect ethical development. But now comes along a well-known English clergyman, Rev. Mr. Kaufmann, and tells us that it was not the fault of the laborers at all, for their employers demanded of them, as part of the agreement, conditions which they ought not to have accepted. It practically amounted to this: yield to us your freedom or lose your share in the profit; and like true men they chose the latter alternative.

Another is the case of the Messrs. Brewster, carriage

[1] I do not by any means wish to say that all our daily newspapers are wilfully partial. The journals in the town where I live, have, I think, on the whole tried to present an impartial record of current events, and to side with neither capitalist nor laborer, neither rich nor poor. One of these papers, in particular, incurred some hostility on account of its impartial attitude, as certain capitalists thought it ought to take their side. The good effect has, however, been seen. They have helped to maintain what I have called the unity of civilization, a certain oneness of feeling in the community. The rich may have become a little more radical, the poor a little more conservative; and I believe to-day there is not another great city in the United States where the feeling between classes is so near what it should be. I do not believe there is another city where capital is safer.

Newspapers which appeal to the worst passions of the wealthy, teaching them to despise, distrust, and resist the humble social classes, are as dangerous as the incendiary sheets of the Anarchists, and should be unhesitatingly condemned and discountenanced by all who mean well.

manufacturers, of New York. They tried profit-sharing, and their workmen have been denounced in unmeasured terms for their stupidity and malignity in the adoption of such a course as to lead to the abandonment of an arrangement which yielded them so much. Now, I pass no judgment on the case, for I do not know the facts, still less would I assail the character of the Messrs. Brewster who are doubtless most estimable gentlemen; but this I do know, there are two sides to this controversy of which only one is recorded; and it has come to my knowledge that a gentleman of New York of wealth and standing, intimately acquainted with all the facts, gives quite a different interpretation of them from the one so eagerly accepted. These are simply illustrations. If we exercised more charity in our judgments, it would be a good example which would react on the working classes.[1]

If we, too, could learn to take into account mitigating circumstances when we pass judgment on the acts of the laborers, just as we do in other cases, our opinions might be very different. Laborers are suspicious and distrustful, it is said, and truly; often they display bitterness against people of wealth and standing. Is it surprising? Would we, treated in the same manner, be different? Has not every reform for which they have struggled been opposed most strenuously by their industrial and social superiors, and that by means dishonest and contemptible as well as honorable? Yet when these reforms have come, they have been found to be of benefit to the whole of society, in cases even the salvation of society. Take child labor in England in the first half of this century. It was little less than murder. Nay, I go further: I believe, in the sight of

[1] "The morals of a community work downward from the higher classes." — Rev. Howard Crosby, D.D., in his article on "The Dangerous Classes," in the *North American Review*, April, 1883.

Almighty God, the cannibals of the Sandwich Islands were less guilty than those who, appreciating its terrors, knowingly, wilfully supported it; for it, also, was a species of cannibalism, slow but more cruel, for the flesh and blood of the little ones were devoured piecemeal. Yet it required the struggle of a generation to pass laws forbidding it, and nothing is more disgusting than the evasive, shifting, lying course of its chief opponents. Then there was too the old cry of Mammon, — it would ruin trade and drive capital from England.[1] Well, the laborers and their friends gained that point; then came the protection of women and the preservation of the homes; again a long struggle, again a victory which proved good; then laws to protect the life and limb of employees in factories by regulations concerning the fencing-in of dangerous machinery, the ventilation of workrooms, etc., were proposed, and a bill was introduced in Parliament to appoint factory inspectors to enforce the factory legislation against the same miserable opposition, — again a triumph of justice which has proved very good.[2] So it has continued through the entire list of reforms in Great Britain; and this is the judgment of one after the lapse of some time since the introduction of most of them, and at a sufficient distance to view English history with judicial impartiality: "On the one side stood the laborers, led by a few radical manufacturers and philanthropic Tories; on the other, the great mass of manufacturers and liberal doctrinaires, especially the so-called Manchester School. On

[1] This was seriously maintained by the elder Peel, early in this century.

[2] Even Carl Marx, who reluctantly acknowledged any possibility of effectual reform during the continuance of our present industrial system, was forced to speak of "the physical and moral regeneration" of the laboring classes in England.

the side of the laborers in this struggle, marvellous display of heroism and joy in silent sacrifice, only brought into more vivid light by the occasional outbreak of wild despair on the part of a few; on the side of the mass of manufacturers, the expenditure of all means at their command to conceal the truth and to silence the most imperative demands of humanity; on the side of the Manchester School, arguments against state intervention drawn from Adam Smith, and intended for entirely different circumstances, and coupled with those gloomy prophecies for the economic future of England in case of the passage and execution of factory laws. Step by step the manufacturers defended English industry against the legal regulation demanded by the laborers; step by step, and for each separate branch of production were the laborers compelled to secure the protection of their wives and children against conscienceless greed."[1]

A specific vice of our time, and one which political economists of all schools condemn, is extravagance and luxury.[2]

[1] Brentano.

[2] That waste impoverishes, is a truth which, simple as it is, needs to be impressed upon all social classes. A lady will spend $500 for a dress, and excuse her extravagance on the plea, that it furnishes work to the poor. She overlooks the obvious fact that the same sum spent in clothing the aged and infirm would furnish an equal amount of employment. A report of doubtful origin tells us that Mr. Powderly breaks his ginger-ale bottles in order to furnish labor to glass-workers. If this be true, he should reflect that he could at least save the bottles and use the money received for them in the purchase of glassware.

One of the fundamental propositions concerning capital, as stated by John Stuart Mill, is that, though saved, it is consumed. This is the regular course in a normal condition of things in modern industrial life, and shows how misleading are declamations of some recent socialists against saving, which, in their opinion, diminishes employment for labor. Another example will render this still clearer. Of two workingmen, one saves all that he can during a course of years, and deposits

It is waste of economic powers, injuring those who indulge in it, and exciting envy and bitterness in the minds of those who are excluded.[1] The New York *Volkszeitung*, April 7, 1883, a socialistic journal, printed not very long ago a bitter description of a sinfully extravagant ball given by a wealthy New Yorker. It was significantly entitled "Mene, Tekel, Upharsin. Belshazzar in his glory."[2]

it with a building association; the other spends his surplus earnings in fleeting pleasures. At the expiration of the period, during which both have given the same employment to labor, the one has a house of his own, the other, nothing; and the former is more likely than the latter to raise the standard of life among the laboring classes. I am well aware of the limitations to the utility of saving, and also of the exceptions to the general rule, that it is useful to a greater or less extent. I do not by any means consider the miser as a desirable member of the community. Yet I think this principle, in which all economists agree, shows the advantages which might be expected to accrue from instruction in the elements of political economy in all public schools. A general comprehension of the most elementary economic truths would often induce different action from that which we commonly see. If people could but grasp the full import of this one principle, that waste impoverishes, it would prove of incalculable benefit, and foreigners might soon cease to wonder at the wastefulness of American life. There are, indeed, few among us who make the most of what we have. Many who live in worry and discomfort have a sufficient income to satisfy all rational wants, were it well expended.

[1] For a just estimate of luxury, considered from the standpoint of the economist and the Christian, see an admirable article by Émile de Laveleye in *The Popular Science Monthly* for March, 1881.

[2] "The great luxury that is displayed by certain people here acts like a thorn in the flesh of the workingmen and others, and forces them to consider these questions." — Charles Lenz, before the U. S. Senate Committee on Education and Labor.

"Luxury has its decent limits, and we in this land are in danger in many directions of overstepping those limits." — Bishop Henry C. Potter, in his admirable letter of May 15, 1886, to the clergy of the Diocese of New York.

The social injury of vice is seen in the reproaches made against existing society by the Anarchists. A sad condition of family life is ridiculed and brought forward as proof of the hopeless rottenness of capitalistic society. In the long run, virtue is rewarded in states and in individuals, and that social body is doomed which is essentially immoral.

The single individual cannot do all that is required to bring to pass the golden age in the future for which we all hope and pray. A wonderful law has bound us all so together that when one suffers others endure pain, when one sins the penalty is visited on the innocent as well as on the guilty.[1] When one looks the world over, one can feel little doubt that, women and children included, even the greater part of suffering is caused by acts for which no guilt attaches to him who suffers. It was intended that it should be so, for it was never meant that man should be completely happy while his fellows are in pain. Otherwise, the brotherhood of man were an unmeaning phrase. The solidarity of human interests is a terrible reality. Nevertheless, individuals have to do a great deal in their individual capacity to cure social evils, and first of all is that ethical correction of evil tendencies which in theological language is called regeneration. Every employer, every employee, and every discontented human being should first look within, and begin the work of reform in their own natures. The workingmen in particular should cultivate temperance, and continue the good work already begun. As the

[1] An example to the point is the case of the Chicago Anarchists, for which organized labor is in no way responsible. Have not, indeed, the trades-unions and other labor societies been at swords' points perpetually with these Anarchists? Yet innocent workingmen are made to suffer grievously, and their cause injured, on account of acts which they abhor.

best of them see, they have no worse foe than liquor. Then, personal purity ought to be encouraged among them, and to this too little attention has been given. I am told by one who ought to know, that unchastity is to-day a more crying evil among them than intemperance. There can be no healthy family life without chastity, and without a healthy family life, there can be no sound social or even industrial life. All this involves a multitude of problems, and chief among them is the tenement-house question. Every effort to surround the working people with wholesome home influences must be encouraged. In a city like New York, the laborers as a rule have nothing which could be called a home. In the factories and workshops, young people are subjected to bad influences to a needless extent. Girls are often obliged to submit to insults, to resent which involves dismissal and loss of livelihood for self, often also for young brothers and sisters or a widowed mother. Frequently, they are started on the downward track by boss or employer, who shows them favors in their work, for which they pay with their virtue. When I made a tour of personal inspection of industrial centres in 1885, preparatory to the preparation of this book, I spent a few days in a city of less than thirty thousand inhabitants in good old New England, where I was told that as many as two hundred couples live together outside the bonds of wedlock. It was something so common that it did not involve a loss of caste in the laboring population.

Experience must bring the fact more and more home to every thinking person that one indispensable condition of permanent improvement in the lot of laborers is their moral elevation. The first conditions of success in their various efforts are mutual confidence, incorruptible integrity, and unquestioned fidelity in positions of trust. Without these qualities,

political action, co-operation, and organization can do but poor and imperfect work, while they will frequently fail altogether. Again and again have venality, faithlessness, corruption, defeated the efforts of the toiling masses. Christian ethics — by all acknowledged to be the most perfect system of ethics, regardless of any divine origin — contain the principles which should animate the entire labor movement. But how are men to learn these? The masses can acquire such an acquaintance with the data of ethics as to render them a living reality only through some one who is a personal embodiment of them. Abstract ethics have not and never will become a mighty vital power in this world. It is the concrete which moves men. Now, I know only one perfect concrete embodiment of Christian ethics, and that is their Founder. He it is who must become the personal Saviour of this labor movement, if it is ever to accomplish its legitimate end.[1]

Manufacturers should cultivate the true humility of great souls, and adopt a more conciliatory attitude towards their laborers, encouraging them in the settlement of difficulties by arbitration, and receiving the committees and agents of their employees just as they would those of any other company of men with whom they have dealings. They should recognize the same rights in their workmen to combine for mutual advancement which they claim for themselves. If they are wealthy, they ought not to presume upon it, or expect servility from their employees. Like other rich men, they should take to heart the golden words of Bishop Potter: "I do not know why poverty should cringe to wealth, which is as often as otherwise an accidental distinction, and quite as often a condition unadorned by any especial moral or intellectual excellence. . . . No arrogance is more insufferable or

[1] All this is said entirely apart from my views as a church member. I come to it by an independent route as a social scientist.

unwarrantable than that of mere wealth." It is, further, the duty of manufacturers and of all employers to assist their workingmen in every laudable endeavor to resist conspiracies on the part of their business rivals for the oppression of the employed. They should be ready to speak out in public, and expose and denounce wrong, — just as many of them will do at their own tables, for example. Even good men, who wish themselves to do right, often take such an attitude in public, whenever they fancy vested interests in danger, that one gets the impression of a willingness to join hands with the very devil, if he will only assure them the safety of their money-bags. Folly! It is this timidity on their part which has wrought half the trouble; for the really bad employers, who for gold would worship Satan, and send all their employees to hell, are few. But there are such in the United States, and upon their heads rests the blood of unnumbered thousands. People of all classes should combine to suppress the comparatively few on both sides of the social struggle who cause that mischief which endangers the safety of our republic.[1] Employers ought to have the confidence and friendship of those in their employ. Many of them have it, and year after year sustain the pleasantest relations with those about them. With tact and perseverance, the good will of employees, even of the worst class, can be won, as was demonstrated by the experience of Robert Owen, whose autobiography ought to be read by every manufacturer in the country.

It should be remembered that every employer and indeed every man of wealth and position on the side of the workingman is a conservative element in society. This proved true, even of so extreme and radical a man as Robert

[1] I fear employers are a little less ready to cast unworthy men out of their combinations than the employees.

Owen, who incurred the hostility of his fellow-manufacturers, and yet on the whole strengthened the foundations on which they were constructing their fortunes. England is strong and free because it contains men like Mr. Forster, Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Samuel Morley. Mr. Hughes, Mr. Brassey. When Mr. Cross, a conservative minister of the Interior, legalized trades-unions and codified the factory legislation, he was building wisely for the future; and when, as always happens in these days in England, in the case of proposed legislation for workingmen, members of the ruling class, like a great land-owner or large manufacturer, rise in Parliament to plead the cause of their subordinates, they are rendering a service to every employer of labor in Great Britain. To a greater extent than elsewhere do the governing social elements in England sympathize with the labor movement and concern themselves with great social problems, and on this account class antagonism is less sharp than in other similarly situated countries, like France and Germany. If we would live to be as old as England, it is time to begin to imitate her example in this respect.

Workingmen must remember that they too often give just cause for complaint to their employers by reason of carelessness, wastefulness, poor workmanship, neglect of trusts committed to them, bad faith, distrust, and downright insolence, which is as unbecoming in them as in their industrial captains. Workingmen ought to cultivate a more conciliatory tone in all their relations, both in the shop and field and in their various societies. The discords which too often divide them are the triumph of their enemies, but a shame to them and a mortification to their friends. The organization of labor, as this book has shown, is an indispensable condition of the improvement of the masses, and it must be extended and also pursued on a more elevated

ethical plane, if it is to accomplish its legitimate ends. There must be displayed a greater willingness to yield personal advantage to the common good, and a stronger bond of union than has heretofore existed must be sought in an intensified feeling of brotherhood which will beget self-sacrifice and mutual trust and confidence.

In conclusion, there are then four chief agencies through which we must work for the amelioration of the laboring class, as well as of all classes of society. These are the labor organization, the school, the State, and the Church.

One principal remedy against the evils of socialism, nihilism, and anarchism is a better education in political, social, and economic science. The dense ignorance on these questions, even among the better classes, is something astounding. People contend against an unknown enemy. There are very few colleges where any adequate instruction is given in the great social problems of the day. What is the result? Their graduates, instead of converting others from error, often yield to the foes of society, and when they do seek to instruct, their ignorance of social movements is so gross that they render themselves a laughing-stock to workingmen. Perhaps they write an editorial to show socialists that a division of property would not produce an equality which would last twenty-four hours! A graduate of a well-known college in New England, a clergyman, wrote not long ago that in his day they had in political economy only what could be learned out of a couple of text-books, like Mill and Fawcett, eminently respectable authorities, but hardly containing all that is needed by the college graduate of our day. It is not surprising, then, that two or three of his class, and among them a professor in a theological school, had become socialists. Education in political and

social sciences ought to be given, not only in colleges, but in every high school and academy in the land.

How is social power, the force which resides in society, to be utilized? The answer is, largely through the State, legally organized society. The individual has his province, the State has its functions, which the individual either cannot accomplish at all, or cannot accomplish so well.[1] But an obstacle to the proper economic activity of the State has been found in the low view men have too frequently taken of its nature. Calling it an atomistic collection of units, some have even gone so far as to speak of taxation for the support of public schools as robbery of the propertied classes. Now it may rationally be maintained that, if there

[1] The most pressing need at present is the complete public control of all railways. The postal savings banks, such as are now doing a good work in England and several other European countries, are one of the most important institutions which the general government could give us as an aid in the work of the elevation of the masses. There is absolutely no valid objection to be urged against their introduction in this country, and no contrivance so simple could accomplish more. A better regulation of corporate enterprises is a still more important but a more difficult duty of the State. A classification of undertakings suitable for the sphere of the individual and of those suitable for some public authority is another pressing need of our times. The superstitious adherence to *laissez faire* has prevented the proper activity of the State, and this in turn has reacted upon the sphere of private enterprise and has discouraged individual initiative and industry. The reader would do well to consult upon this point a valuable pamphlet by Professor Henry C. Adams, entitled "Principles that should control the Interference of the States in Industries," published by the Constitution Club of the city of New York. Some valuable remarks on the proper industrial functions of the State may be found in the "Relation of the Modern Municipality to the Gas Supply," by Dr. E. J. James, published in Baltimore by the American Economic Association. A recent pamphlet published by *Science* in New York, 47 Lafayette Place, on the fundamental principles of economics may also be read with profit. It is entitled "Science Economic Discussion."

is anything divine on this earth, it is the State, the product of the same God-given instincts which led to the establishment of the Church and the Family. It was once held that kings ruled by right divine, and in any widely accepted belief, though it be afterwards discredited, there is generally found a kernel of truth. In this case it was the divine right of the State. Socrates, who held the laws of the State sacred and inviolable, even when they condemned him to death, had a correcter view of its nature than our modern individualists. The Christian ought not to view civil authority in any other light than a delegated responsibility from the Almighty. When men come to look upon their duty to the State as something as holy to their duty to the church, regarding the State as one of God's chief agencies for good, it will be easy for government to perform all its functions. Questions of civil service, as ordinarily presented, do not go deep enough. A higher conception of the State is required.

One crying need of the times is equality in the administration of the law. There is a good deal of talk about legal equality and — with a few exceptions like the old conspiracy laws — the laws themselves read so as to bear equally on all, but when it comes to the execution it is quite a different thing. There is one administration for the poor, another for the rich, and still another, widely different, for vast corporations. It is idle to deny this. Everybody knows it, and the laborers resent it bitterly.[1]

One thing which should never be attempted is legal

[1] Inequality in the administration of law — and administration has been said to be even more important than constitutions — is both positive and negative. The general laws are enforced more severely against the poor; and the laws in favor of the workingmen are — one may almost say, as a rule — not enforced at all.

repression of the labor movement. If the history of social movements in modern times teaches us anything at all, it is the folly of this. It simply drives the activities out of sight. It suppresses the symptoms, and aggravates the disease tenfold. When combinations in England were declared not amenable to the law of conspiracy, outrages soon began to diminish, and they continued to decrease *pari passu* with the recognition and support which trades-unions received from public opinion and the established authorities of the land. Withdraw the respect and esteem of the community and you take away one of the strongest supports of character. The law of 1879 in Illinois which forbade unauthorized companies of armed men, was — it may as well be acknowledged frankly — directed against workingmen. It was class legislation. Has it done any good? It has not suppressed the Lehr- und Wehrverein[1] of Chicago, and no one knows how many more may be drilling in secret, though the fact that it has produced bitterness and intensified discontent is undeniable. It is a bad law and a bad precedent.

Our police system needs reforming. What is wanted is some kind of a control which shall prevent the continual clubbing of poor people without cause. Some kind of an administrative court might answer the purpose, and it would render the police not less but more efficient. It is a bad sign and shows something wrong when the great mass of honest workingmen are bitterly hostile to the police; but apart from that, there are sufficient evidences of the frequent brutality of

[1] An armed company of Anarchists. It is reported that there are several secret companies of Anarchists in the United States, chiefly in Chicago, and it is well known that they have for several years been distributing arms and encouraging workingmen to buy them in all parts of the country, with the avowed purpose of the destruction of existing institutions.

policemen, and in this country they are beginning to assume a tone which would better become the Czar of Russia than humble guardians of the peace. Certainly the police president of Berlin would not venture to assume the tone of some petty New York police officials. People should remember, if they do not desire a police despotism in this country, that "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty," and that it is precisely at such times as these in which we now live that the rights of free men are lost. Let no one misunderstand this. The office of a policeman is an honorable one and should be respected; and there are many men both brave and good in every police force who deserve only praise. These are doubtless in the majority, but there are too many, thoroughly depraved and corrupted, who are only too glad to club workingmen and workingwomen to divert attention from their other misdeeds. Who has not heard of the bribed police of New York? Who does not know that men on $5,000 a year contrive to spend $25,000 annually? Who does not know that police captains are in collusion with houses of infamy and other illegal resorts, and accept "hush" money? Does it stand to reason to suppose that these disreputable characters are always in the right in their controversies with workingmen? It is needless to argue the matter. Every one, who will, may gain access to the facts of the case.

But even when they are not bad men, the peculiar temptation of those engaged in such offices should be borne in mind. It is the same as that of the soldier, which is well described by Maurice, in these words: "There is a brutal appetite for slaughter, which is in the nature of every soldier because of every man, which war would probably call forth in each of us."[1]

[1] "Social Morality."

Clubbing may be substituted for "slaughter" and police service for "war" in the above. Let us by all means have the very best and most efficient police force in every city, but place it under proper administrative control, and confine it within its own proper sphere.

Public authorities — and let us have a force sufficient to do this in every emergency — should *protect* property and person. The outrages of private bands of hirelings have continued too long. If property owners may employ a private army to protect their things, surely workmen may employ armed forces to protect their lives; and we may as well give up government and return to the barbarism of anarchy. The Ohio law, which forbids the employment of deputy-sheriffs not resident in the county, may be commended as worthy of imitation.

Above all things, let not government appear to the workingmen of the country as something merely harsh and repressive, for then its overthrow is merely a question of time. The beneficent nature of the State should be brought out strongly.[1]

Chief attention should be directed to the young, and with a good will and energetic action they can be so influenced as to change the character of the population materially in one generation.[2] They should, when necessary, be removed from vicious surroundings, and universal and compulsory

[1] Again I must quote the admirable words of Bishop Potter's "Pastoral Letter": "We may cover the pages of our statute books with laws regulating strikes and inflicting severest penalties on those who organize resistance to the individual liberty, whether of employer or workman; we may drill regiments and perfect our police: the safety and welfare of a state are not in these things, they are in the contentment and loyalty of its people, and they come by a different road."

[2] There are some good remarks on this subject in an article by David Dudley Field, in the *Forum*, Vol. I.

education ought to reach every child in the land. Schools may be improved by the introduction of instruction in morals and manners. Manual training for boys, sewing and cooking for girls, gymnastic exercises in suitable structures for both are all desirable, and would yield a large return for every dollar invested. Play-grounds for children might well be provided by every municipality, and if the cost should be large in great cities, it would be amply repaid in the vigor and health of their bodies. Public baths come under this general head; and more should be done for rational amusement in order that the masses may receive the culture of wholesome recreation.[1]

[1] The Church may also well do something in this direction, as was suggested to me by the late Rev. Dr. Leeds of Grace Church, Baltimore, whose letter is subjoined.

"GRACE CHURCH RECTORY, *Baltimore, March* 9, 1885.

"Dear MR. ELY: —

"I thank you for sending me the paper containing your letter on the great social problem, your solution of which I fully agree with. There is a fault in the Church in not elevating as she ought — and as she has it in her power to do — the so-called laboring classes, and in promoting among all ranks in life a feeling of brotherhood.

"The fault, however, is less in the Church, *as such*, than in the promiscuous assemblies that gather within her walls; some of whom make the poor workmen uncomfortable by coldness and distance, while among others the workingman makes himself uncomfortable by the thought of contrasted appearance and inequality of position. . . . It is not through worship alone that we shall reach them; but even more, I believe, by the provision of places of innocent pastime, and social intercourse among themselves, free from the dangers of alluring saloons, and yet antidotes to the gloom of unattractive homes in crowded lanes and alleys. Out of them they will pass under the Church's encouragement into her places of prayer of their own choice and motion.

"Believe me in the fellowship of a common interest,

"Sincerely yours,

"GEORGE LEEDS."

The Church must claim her full place as a social power, existing independently of the State. It is said that the Church is the representative of Christ, whose kingdom was not of this earth. True, but for us the higher life has its basis in the lower life, and that Christianity is certainly defective which is not a living force in matters of temporal concern. It may be that the talents intrusted to us here are small compared to the opportunities of a future state; but the attainment of the higher responsibilities depends upon the administration of our earthly stewardship. Now, it seems to the writer that the Church neglects the enforcement of our duties with respect to temporal concerns.

The entire duty of man is summed up by Christ in two commandments, which inculcate love to God and love to one's neighbor, and the one is said to be like unto the other. Now our theological seminaries have learned professors to teach their students, the future clergy, how to obey the first, and the various branches of learning taught are called theology; but we find in them no one to teach us how to fulfil the second commandment. That is the function of social science, but too many think glittering generalities are sufficient. This is a serious error, for it is by no means always an easy thing to show our love to our fellowman in our deeds. We often hurt him when we would help him.

It is with satisfaction one turns from the study of social problems to the teachings of Christ, which seem, from a purely scientific standpoint, to contain just what is needed. On entering our churches, the painful scene of discord between what one sees and hears and what Christ taught, is by no means easy to describe. It is too frequently difficult to believe that the fashionable people about one are followers of the humble Nazarene, who found it so hard for the

wealthy to enter the kingdom of heaven, and bid the rich young man sell all that he had and give to the poor. A great deal is said in criticism of the communism of the early Christians, and it is doubtless true that it proved no brilliant success,[1] but it would be well to dwell more at length on the spirit which that early communism presupposed. A group of men and women, who sell their all and form one fund that they may live in common as brothers and sisters, without those social distinctions so dear to us all, must have been actuated by sincere convictions and unfeigned love. This is what men did who were near Christ and upon whom there had been a wonderful outpouring of God's Spirit. It may not be necessary for men to do that now, though it is not certain that many a man may not be called upon to part with wealth for the sake of Christian progress; but it is necessary that Christians manifest a willingness to do this.

In the harmonious action of State, Church, and individual, moving in the light of true science, will be found an escape from present and future social dangers. Herein is pointed out the path of safe progress; other there is none.

[1] Nevertheless, I know of no proof whatever for the common assertion that the poverty of the believers at Jerusalem was in any way connected with the experiment in communism.

APPENDIX I.

I. Platform of Principles of the National Labor Union.
II. Pledge and Preamble of the Journeymen Bricklayers' Association of Philadelphia.
III. Declaration of Principles and Objects of the Cigar Makers' Progressive Union of America.
IV. Extracts from the Constitution of the National Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers of the United States.
V. Manifesto of the International Working Peoples' Association.
VI. Letter to Tramps, reprinted from the "Alarm" of Chicago.
VII. Platform and Present Demands of the Socialistic Labor Party.
VIII. Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1886, by an American Socialist.

I.

PLATFORM OF PRINCIPLES OF THE NATIONAL LABOR UNION.

Adopted Friday, September 25, 1868.

We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all people are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among them are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights, govern-

ments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.

That there are but two pure forms of government — the Autocratic and the Democratic; under the former, the will of the individual sovereign is the supreme law, under the latter, the sovereignty is vested in the whole people, all other forms being a modification of the one or the other of these principles, and that ultimately one or the other of these forms must prevail throughout all civilized nations, and it is now for the American people to determine which of these principles shall triumph. That the design of the founders of the republic, was to institute a government upon the principle of absolute inherent sovereignty of the people, and that would give to each citizen the largest political and religious liberty compatible with the good order of society, and secure to each the right to enjoy the fruits of his labor and talents; that when laws are enacted destructive of these ends, they are without moral binding force, and it is the right and duty of the people to alter, amend, or abolish them, and institute such others, founding them upon the principles of equality, as to them may seem most likely to effect their prosperity and happiness. Prudence will indeed dictate that important laws long established, should not be changed for light and transient causes; and experience has shown that the American people are more disposed to suffer while evils are sufferable, than to change the forms and laws to which they have been accustomed. But when a long train of legislative abuses, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to subvert the spirit of freedom and equality upon which our institutions are founded, and reduce them to a state of servitude, it is their right, it is their duty, to abolish such laws and provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient suffering of the wealth-producing classes of the United States, and such is the necessity which constrains them to put forth an organized and united effort for maintaining their natural rights, which are imperilled by the insidious schemes and unwarranted aggression of unscrupulous bankers and usurpers, by means of unwise and corrupt legislation.

We further hold that all property or wealth is the product of physical or intellectual labor employed in productive industry, and in the distribution of the productions of labor. That laborers ought of right, and would, under a just monetary system, receive or retain the larger proportion of their productions; that the wrongs, oppressions, and destitution which laborers are suffering in most departments of legitimate enterprise and useful occupation, do not result from insufficiency of production, but from the unfair distribution of the products of labor between non-producing capital and labor.

That money is the medium of distribution to non-producing capital and producing labor, the rate of interest determining what proportion of the products of labor shall be awarded to capital for its use, and what to labor for its productions; that the power to make money and regulate its value, is an essential attribute of sovereignty, the exercise of which is, by the Constitution of the United States, wisely and properly granted to Congress; and it is the imperative duty of Congress to institute it upon such a wise and just basis that it shall be directly under the control of the sovereign people who produce the value it is designed to represent, measure and exchange, that it may be a correct and uniform standard of value, and distribute the products of labor equitably between capital and labor, according to the service of labor performed in their production. That the law enacting the so-called national banking system is a delegation by Congress of the sovereign power to make money, and regulate its power to a class of irresponsible banking associations, thereby giving to them the power to control the value of all the property in the nation, and to fix the rewards of labor in every department of industry, and is inimical to the spirit of liberty, and subversive of the principles of justice upon which our Democratic Republican institutions are founded, and without warrant, in the Constitution; justice, reason, and sound policy demand its immediate repeal, and the substitution of legal tender treasury notes, as the exclusive currency of the nation.

That this money monopoly is the parent of all monopolies —

the very root and essence of slavery — railroads, warehouses and all other monopolies, of whatever kind or nature, are the outgrowth of and subservient to this power, and the means used by it to rob the enterprising, industrial, wealth-producing classes of the products of their talents and labor.

That as government is instituted to protect life and secure the rights of property, each should share its just and proper proportion of the burdens and sacrifices necessary for its maintenance and perpetuity; and that the exemption from taxation of bank capital and government bonds, bearing double and bankrupting rates of interest, is a species of unjust class legislation, opposed to the spirit of our institutions, and contrary to the principles of sound morality and enlightened reason. That our monetary, financial, and revenue laws are, in letter and spirit, opposed to the principles of freedom and equality upon which our Democratic Republican institutions are founded. There is in all their provisions, manifestly a studied design to shield non-producing capital from its just proportion of the burdens necessary for the support of the government, imposing them mainly on the industrial, wealth-producing classes, thereby condemning them to lives of unremunerated toil, depriving them of the ordinary conveniences and comforts of life, of the time and means necessary for social enjoyment, intellectual culture, and moral improvement, and ultimately reducing them to a state of practical servitude. We further hold that while these unrighteous laws of distribution remain in force, laborers cannot, by any system of combination or co-operation, secure their natural rights. That the first and most important step towards the establishment of the rights of labor, is the institution of a system of true co-operation between non-producing capital and labor. That to effect this most desirable object, money — the medium of distribution to capital and labor — must be instituted upon such a wise and just principle that, instead of being a power to centralize the wealth in the hands of a few bankers, usurers, middlemen, and non-producers generally, it shall be a power that will distribute products to producers, in accordance with the labor or service performed in their production — the servant and not the

master of labor. This done, the natural rights of labor will be secured, and co-operation in production, and in the distribution of products, will follow as a natural consequence. The weight will be lifted from the back of the laborer, and the wealth-producing classes will have the time and the means necessary for social enjoyment, intellectual culture, and moral improvement, and the non-producing classes compelled to earn a living by honest industry. We hold that this can be effected by the issue of treasury notes made a legal tender in the payment of all debts, public and private, and convertible, at the option of the holder, into government bonds, bearing a just rate of interest, sufficiently below the rate of increase in the national wealth, by natural production, as to make an equitable distribution of the products of labor between non-producing capital and labor, reserving to Congress the right to alter the same when, in their judgment, the public interest would be promoted thereby; giving the government creditor the right to take the lawful money or the interest-bearing bonds at his election, with the privilege to the holder to re-convert the bonds into money, or the money into bonds, at pleasure.

We hold this to be the true American or people's monetary system, adopted to the genius of our Democratic Republican institutions, in harmony with the letter and spirit of our Constitution, and suited to the wants of the government and business interests of the nation; that it would furnish a medium of exchange, having equal power, a uniform value, and fitted for the performance of all the functions of money, co-extensive with the jurisdiction of government. That with a just rate per cent interest on the government bonds, it would effect the equitable distribution of the products of labor between non-producing capital and labor, giving to laborers a fair compensation for their products, and to capital a just reward for its use; remove the necessity for excessive toil, and afford the industrial classes the time and means necessary for social and intellectual culture. With the rate of interest at three per cent on the government bonds, the national debt would be liquidated within less than thirty years, without the imposition or collection of a farthing of

taxes for that purpose. Thus it would dispense with the hungry horde of assessors, tax gatherers, and government spies, that are harassing the industrial classes, and despoiling them of their subsistence.

We further hold that it is essential to the happiness and prosperity of the people, and the stability of our Democratic Republican institutions, that the public domain be distributed as widely as possible among the people, — a land monopoly being equally as oppressive to the people, and dangerous to our institutions, as the present money monopoly. To prevent this, the public lands should be given in reasonable quantities and to none but actual occupants.

We further hold that intelligence and virtue in the sovereignty are necessary to a wise administration of justice, and that as our institutions are founded upon the theory of sovereignty in the people, in order to their preservation and perpetuity, it is the imperative duty of Congress to make such wise and just regulations as shall afford all the means of acquiring the knowledge requisite to the intelligent exercise of the privileges and duties pertaining to sovereignty, and that Congress should ordain that eight hours' labor, between the rising and setting of the sun, should constitute a day's work in all government works and places where the national government has exclusive jurisdiction; and that it is equally imperative on the several States to make like provision by legal enactment. Be it therefore unanimously

Resolved, That our first duty is now to provide, as speedily as possible, a system of general organization in accordance with the principles herein more specifically set forth, and that each branch of industry shall be left to adopt its own particular form of organization, subject only to such restraint as may be necessary to place each organization within line, so as to act in harmony in all matters pertaining to the welfare of the whole, as well as each of the parts; and that it is the imperative duty of each individual, in each and every branch of industry, to aid in the formation of such labor organizations in their respective branches, and to connect themselves therewith.

CO-OPERATIVE.

Resolved, That in co-operation based upon just financial and revenue laws, we recognize a sure and lasting remedy for the abuse of the present industrial system, and that, until the laws of the nation can be remodelled so as to recognize the rights of men instead of classes, the system of co-operation carefully guarded will do much to lessen the evils of our present system. We therefore hail with delight the organization of co-operative stores and workshops, and would urge their formation in every section of the country, and in every branch of business.

WOMAN'S LABOR.

Resolved, That with the equal application of the fundamental principles of our Republican Democratic government, and a sound monetary system, there could be no antagonism between the interests of the workingmen and workingwomen of this country, nor between any of the branches of productive industry, — the direct operation of each, when not prevented by unjust monetary laws, being to benefit all the others by the production and distribution of the comforts and necessaries of life; and that the adoption, by the national government, of the financial policy set forth in this platform, will put an end to the oppression of workingwomen, and is the only means of securing to them as well as to the workingmen the just reward of their labor.

Resolved, That we pledge our individual and undivided support to the sewing-women and daughters of toil in this land, and would solicit their hearty co-operation, knowing, as we do, that no class of industry is so much in need of having their condition ameliorated as the factory operatives, sewing-women, etc., of this country.

CONVICT-LABOR.

Resolved, That we demand the abolishment of the system of convict-labor in our prisons and penitentiaries, and that the labor performed by convicts shall be that which will least conflict with honest industry outside of the prisons, and that the wares manufactured by the convict shall not be put upon the market at less than the current market-rates.

IMPROVED DWELLINGS FOR LABORERS.

Resolved, That we would urgently call the attention of the industrial classes to the subject of tenement houses and improved dwellings, believing it to be essential to the welfare of the whole community that a reform should be effected in this respect, as the experience of the past has proved that vice, pauperism, and crime are the invariable attendants of the over-crowded and illy ventilated dwellings of the poor, and urge upon the capitalists of the country attention to the blessings to be derived from investing their means in the erection of such dwellings.

INTELLECTUAL IMPROVEMENT.

Resolved, That the formation of mechanics' institutes, lyceums, and reading-rooms, and the erection of buildings for that purpose, are recommended to workingmen in all cities and towns, as a means of advancing their social and intellectual improvement.

REMEDY FOR INSUFFICIENT WORK.

Resolved, That this Labor Congress would most respectfully recommend to the workingmen of the country, that in case they are pressed for want of employment, they proceed to become actual settlers; believing that if the industry of the country can be coupled with its natural advantages, it will result both in individual relief and national advantages.

Resolved, That where a workingman is found capable and available for office, the preference should invariably be given to such person.

SIX ADDITIONS TO THE PLATFORM ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL LABOR UNIONS SINCE 1868.

Resolved, That the public lands of the United States belong to the people, and should not be sold to individuals, nor granted to corporations; but should be held as a sacred trust for the benefit of the people, and should be granted, free of cost, to landless settlers only, in amounts not exceeding 160 acres of land.

Resolved, That the treaty-making power of the government has no authority in the Constitution to "dispose of" the public

lands without the joint sanction of the Senate and House of Representatives.

Resolved, That as labor is the foundation and cause of national prosperity, it is both the duty and interest of the government to foster and protect it. Its importance, therefore, demands the creation of an executive department of the government at Washington, to be denominated the Department of Labor, which shall aid in protecting it above all other interests.

Resolved, That the protection of life, liberty, and property are the three cardinal principles of government, and the first two more sacred than the latter; therefore, money necessary for prosecuting wars should, as it is required, be assessed and collected from the wealth of the country and not be entailed as a burden on posterity.

Resolved, That inasmuch as both the present political parties are dominated by the non-producing classes, who depend on public plunder for subsistence and wealth, and have no sympathy with the working millions beyond the use they can make of them for their own political and pecuniary aggrandizement; therefore, the highest interest of our colored fellow-citizens is with the workingmen, who, like themselves, are slaves of capital and politicians, and strike for liberty.

Resolved, That women are entitled to equal pay for equal services with men; that the practice of working women and children ten to fifteen hours a day at starvation prices is brutal in the extreme, and subversive to the health, intelligence, and morality of the nation, and demands the interposition of law.

II.

JOURNEYMEN BRICKLAYERS' PROTECTIVE ASSOCIATION OF PHILADELPHIA.

PLEDGE.

I hereby solemnly and sincerely pledge my honor as a man, that I will not reveal any private business or proceedings of this

Association, or any individual action of its members; that I will, without equivocation or evasion, and to the best of my ability, so long as I remain a member thereof, abide by the Constitution and By-Laws, and the particular scale of prices of work adopted by it; that I will acquiesce in the will of the majority, and that I will at all times, by every honorable means within my power, procure employment for members of this Association, that I will, at all times and places, especially at work, endeavor to assist and comfort my fellow-workmen who are members of this Association.

PREAMBLE.

Whereas, To elevate and maintain a proper position in our trade and calling, we have found it necessary to organize and adopt means by which we may assert our individual rights, therefore be it

Resolved, That the Journeymen Bricklayers' Protective Association of Philadelphia, with a view to maintain a fair rate of wages, encourage members to advance themselves in their trade, to fraternize in a spirit of harmony, and use every means which may tend to the elevation of Bricklayers in the social scale of life, form themselves into a union for the accomplishment of these ends, do therefore enact and declare the following as their Constitution, By-Laws, and Rules of Order.

III.

CONSTITUTION OF THE CIGAR-MAKERS' PROGRESSIVE UNION OF AMERICA.[1]

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES.

The working people, though being the creators of all wealth, are in every sense of the word unfree, economically and politically.

[1] This is one of the socialistic unions.

The means of production, money, machinery and tools of all kinds, as well as the soil, are in the hands of a few — the capitalistic class.

The working classes, compelled by want, are selling their only means, their laboring power, to the capitalistic class for wages, regulated by supply and demand.

The surplus of the values created by the laboring classes goes to the capitalistic class causing the growth of gigantic monopolies, the destruction of the middle class, and the pauperization of the working people in an ever-increasing ratio. The means of production in the hands of capitalists are a powerful means of subduing the class of workers.

Every improvement in the means of production does away with a number of human hands, and annually the army of the unemployed is on the increase, thereby decreasing the demand for the means of life on the part of the laboring class.

The misproportion of production and the demand for products is growing, and crises are the natural consequence.

The capitalistic class, by its wealth, owns all legislation, its privileges are guaranteed by law.

The laboring classes have — as experience shows — nothing to expect from present legislatures. Therefore, we consider it to be a necessity for the workers of our day to recognize and defend their common interests as a class.

For that purpose they need *Organization!*

Disunited, the workers are nothing! United, they are an irresistible power!

Organization and united action are the only means by which the laboring classes can gain any advantages for themselves.

Organization and Unity bear, in themselves, the germ for a just form of society.

Good and strong labor organizations are enabled to defend and preserve the interests of the working mass.

Organization enables them to assist each other in case of strikes, death and disease.

By Organization only, the workers, as a class, are able to gain legislative advantages. The battle-cry of the laboring class

must be: "Cut loose from the present political parties; *Elect none but workingmen to the Legislature!*" They know the sufferings of the people; they know where to put in the lever to lift the burdens from their fellow-sufferers and to give them their economic and political rights.

These organized economic and political struggles teach the workers to conduct their own case and to give them confidence in their own might.

Self-confidence gives to the worker the power to do away with the present unjust mode of production, as well as with the social system of classes to put in their stead the co-operative mode of producing, with a just distribution of all products, and political equality of all individuals.

The confidence in one's own power destroys the belief in all authority wherever exerted.

To do away with all unjust domination in state, society, etc., and to establish real sovereignty of the people is the aim of the modern labor movement.

The laboring classes must be freed by the laboring classes themselves.

ARTICLE II. — Object.

Sec. 1. This Union aims at the furtherance of the material and intellectual welfare of all workers, male and female, employed at the manufacture of cigars.

Sec. 2. This Union proposes to carry out its aims by the following means: —

a) By gratuitously furnishing work;

b) By mutual pecuniary aid;

1) In case of strikes and lockouts, of sickness and death;
2) By lending money for travelling;
3) In case of legal difficulties consequent upon affairs concerning the Union;

c) Regarding intellectual advancement;

1) By issuing an organ defending the interests of the Union;
2) By lectures and discussions upon topics of Political Economy, Statistics, etc;

d) By agitating propositions for the introduction of laws for the protection of labor's interests.

SEC. 3. Laws for the protection of labor's interests, as this Union understands them, are:

a) Prohibition of industrial labor for boys under 14 and for girls under 16 years of age.

b) Limiting the hours of labor to not more than eight per day, and enforcing such a law by the executive powers of the State.

c) Prohibition of all night work.

d) Abolition of the truck system.

e) Prohibition of tenement-house cigar-manufacture.

f) Prohibition of contract labor in prisons and reformatory institutions.

g) State control of factories and workshops with reference to their sanitary condition, also laws for the protection of the life and limbs and the health of the workmen.

h) Owners of factories to be made liable, unconditionally, for accidents caused by the lack of proper measures for the safety of their workers.

i) Establishment of a Central Bureau of Statistics for labor and labor interests; the Bureau to be controlled by the labor unions.

IV.

REVISED CONSTITUTION AND GENERAL LAWS OF THE NATIONAL AMALGAMATED ASSOCIATION OF IRON AND STEEL WORKERS OF THE UNITED STATES.

PREAMBLE.

"Labor has no protection — the weak are devoured by the strong. All wealth and all power centre in the hands of few, and the many are their victims and their bondsmen."

So says an able writer in a treatise on association; and in

studying the history of the past, the impartial thinker must be impressed with the truth of the above quotation. In all countries and at all times capital has been used by those possessing it to monopolize particular branches of business, until the vast and various industrial pursuits of the world have been under the immediate control of a comparatively small portion of mankind. Although an unequal distribution of the world's wealth, it is perhaps necessary that it should be so.

To attain to the highest degree of success, in any undertaking, it is necessary to have the most perfect and systematic arrangement possible: to acquire such a system it requires the management of a business to be placed as nearly as possible under the control of one mind; thus concentration of wealth and business tact conduces to the most perfect working of the vast business machinery of the world. And there is, perhaps, no other organization of society so well calculated to benefit the laborer and advance the moral and social condition of the mechanic of the country, if those possessed of wealth were all actuated by those pure and philanthropic principles so necessary to the happiness of all. But, alas! for the poor of humanity, such is not the case. "Wealth is power," and practical experience teaches us that it is power too often used to depress and degrade the daily laborer.

Year after year the capital of the country becomes more and more concentrated in the hands of the few; and in proportion as the wealth of the country becomes centralized, its power increases, and the laboring classes are *impoverished*. It therefore becomes us, as men who have to battle with the stern realities of life, to look this matter fair in the face. There is no *dodging* the question. Let every man give it a fair, full, and candid consideration, and then act according to his honest convictions. What position are we, the Iron and Steel Workers of America, to hold in Society? Are we to receive an equivalent for our labor sufficient to maintain us in comparative independence and respectability, to procure the means with which to educate our children and qualify them to play their part in the world's drama? or must we be forced to bow the suppliant's knee

to wealth, and earn by unprofitable toil a life too void of solace to confirm the very chains that bind us to our doom?

"In union there is strength;" and in the formation of a National Amalgamated Association, embracing every iron and steel worker in the country, a union founded upon a basis broad as the land in which we live, lies our only hope. Single-handed we can accomplish nothing, but united there is no power of wrong we may not openly defy.

Let the iron and steel workers of such places as have not already moved in this matter, organize as quickly as possible and connect themselves with the National Association. Do not be humbugged with the idea that this thing cannot succeed. We are not theorists; this is no visionary plan, but one eminently practicable. Nor can injustice be done to any one; no undue advantage can be taken of any of our employers. There is not, there cannot be any good reason why they should not pay us a fair price for our labor. If the profits of their business are not sufficient to remunerate them for their trouble of doing business, let the consumer make the balance. The stereotype argument of our employers, in every attempt to reduce wages, is that their large expenses and small profits will not warrant the present prices for labor; therefore, those just able to live now must be content with less hereafter.

In answer, we maintain the expenses are not unreasonable, and the profits are large, and the aggregate great. There is no good reason why we should not receive a fair equivalent for our labor. A small reduction seriously diminishes the already scanty means of the operative and puts a large sum in the employer's pocket, and yet some of the manufacturers would appear charitable before the world.

We ask, is it charitable, is it humane, is it honest, to take from the laborer, who is already fed, clothed, and lodged too poorly, a portion of his food and raiment, and deprive his family of the necessaries of life by the common resort — a reduction of his wages? It must not be so.

To rescue our trades from the condition into which they have fallen, and raise ourselves to that condition in society to which

we, as mechanics, are justly entitled, and to place ourselves on a foundation sufficiently strong to secure us from further encroachments, and to elevate the moral, social, and intellectual condition of every iron and steel worker in the country, is the object of our National Association; and to the consummation of so desirable an object, we, the delegates in convention assembled, do pledge ourselves to unceasing effort.

ARTICLE I. — Name and Objects.

Section 1. This Association shall be known as the National Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers of the United States, consisting of Puddlers, Boilers, Heaters and their Helpers; Roll Hands, except Drag-Outs on Muck Mills; Nailers, Spike Makers, Nail and Spike Feeders, Hammermen, Shinglers and Knobblers, Refiners, Roll Turners; also Picklers, Annealers, Washmen, Assorters, and Tin Men in Tin Mills; Hot and Cold Straighteners and their Helpers; Gaggers and Drillers working by the ton; Chargers, Pull-Outs, Hot-Bed Men and Clippers in Rail Mills; Wire Drawers, Tackers, Spring Makers, Spring Fitters, Axle Turners, Water Tenders, Rivet Men, Axle Makers, their Heaters and Helpers; Heaters and Welders in Pipe Mills; Gas Makers in Crucible Steel and Iron Works, after they have been working at the business one year; Shearmen in Bar, Plate, Sheet, and Nail Mills; Engineers and Blacksmiths directly connected with Iron, Steel or Tin Works; also Stockers, Chargers, Cupola Tenders, Speigel Melters, Runnermen, Vesselmen, Bottom Makers, Ladlemen, Pitmen, Cindermen, Stagemen, and Blowers working by the ton, and Pipe Fitters connected with Bessemer Steel Works. Also Keepers and their Helpers, Bottom Fillers, Top Fillers, Engineers, Iron Men, Cindermen, and Water Tenders at Blast Furnaces directly connected with Bessemer Steel Mills.

Sec. 2. The objects of this Association shall be the elevation of the position of its members, the maintenance of the best interests of the Association, and to obtain by conciliation, or by other means that are fair and legal, a fair remuneration to the members for their labor; and to afford mutual protection to

members against broken contracts, obnoxious rules, unlawful discharge, or other systems of injustice or oppression.

ARTICLE II. — National Jurisdiction and General Office.

Section 1. This Association shall have jurisdiction over the United States and Canada, in which there are at present, or may be hereafter, Subordinate Lodges located; and shall be the highest authority of the Order in its jurisdiction, and without its sanction no lodge can exist.

Sec. 2. The general office of the Association shall be located in the city of Pittsburg, Pa., and it shall be required that the President and the Secretary of the National Lodge reside in the city where the general office is located.

ARTICLE III. — National Lodge Elective Officers and their Duties.

Section 1. The elective officers of the National Association shall be a President, who shall also be Organizer, a Secretary, a Vice-President for each district or division of a district, a Treasurer, and three Trustees, who shall hold their offices until their successors are elected or appointed.

Sec. 2. The President shall be elected from among the delegates at Convention, or those who have been delegates at any previous Convention, or whoever held office in the National Association previous to the adoption of this Article. He shall instruct all new members in the workings of the Association, and superintend the workings of the order throughout the jurisdiction. He shall sign all official documents whenever satisfied of their correctness and authenticity, and appoint Vice-Presidents or Trustees of the National Lodge where vacancies occur. He shall have power to visit any Sub-Lodge and inspect their proceedings, either personally or by deputy; and require a compliance to the laws, rules, and usages of this Association, and if any Sub-Lodge shall refuse or neglect to place any of their books or documents, or any information in their possession, into the hands of the President, or his deputy, whenever required by

either of them for any information or investigation he may deem necessary, the President may fine or suspend the Sub-Lodge immediately, and report his action to the Secretary of the National Lodge, who, in turn, shall report the same to the Vice-President of the district in which the lodge is located, and to all Sub-Lodges in the Association as soon as possible. He shall submit to the Secretary at the end of each month, an itemized account of all moneys, travelling and incidental, expended by him in the interest of the Association, and at the end of his term of office he shall report his acts and doings, in which shall be embodied the reports of the Vice-Presidents, to the National Convention. He shall be required to devote all his time to the interest of this Association, and for his services shall receive such sum as the National Convention shall determine.

SEC. 3. The Secretary shall be elected from among the delegates at Convention, or those who have been delegates at any previous Convention, or who ever held office in the National Association previous to the adoption of this Article. He shall take charge of all books, papers, and effects of the general office. He shall furnish all elective officers with the necessary letter heads and stationery. He shall convene and act as Secretary of the National Convention, keep all documents, papers, accounts, letters received, and copies of all important letters sent by him on business of the Association in such a manner and place, and for such purposes as the National Convention shall direct. He shall collect and receive all moneys due the National Association, pay the same to the Treasurer, taking his receipt therefor. He shall also draw all warrants on the Treasurer and Trustees, which shall be signed by the President. He shall prepare a quarterly report of the financial transactions connected with the National Association, and furnish each Sub-Lodge with a copy of the same. He shall also furnish each Sub-Lodge, in arrears, with a statement of their indebtedness on or before the fifteenth of June in each year. He shall register the names of members who have received strike or victimized benefits and the amount each member has received. He shall close *all* accounts of the National Association on the thirtieth day of June in each year,

and *all* moneys received or disbursed after said date shall not be reported in the general balance account at the next National Convention. He shall, after the adjournment of each National Convention, prepare a general account of the proceedings thereof as soon as possible, together with a general balance account of all moneys received and disbursed, a copy of which shall be furnished gratis to each Subordinate Lodge in good standing, and for his services shall receive such sum as the National Convention shall determine.

SEC. 4. Upon the death, resignation, or removal of the President of the National Lodge, the Vice-President of the First Division of the First District shall immediately assume the duties of the President and notify the different Vice-Presidents, who shall meet, and in conjunction with the National Lodge officers, shall elect a successor for the unexpired term.

SEC. 5. Upon the death, resignation, or removal of the Secretary or the Treasurer of the National Lodge, the President thereof shall immediately take charge of all books, papers, and effects of the general office, and notify the different Vice-Presidents, who shall meet, and in conjunction with the National Lodge officers, shall elect a successor for the unexpired term.

SEC. 6. It shall be the duty of the Vice-Presidents to act as executives of the several districts or divisions of districts in which they may reside, and render such other assistance to the President as he may require. They shall report their acts and doings for their term of office, to the President of the National lodge, not later than the first of July in each year. (See President's duties.) They shall appoint three deputies each to assist them in their duties, the same to report to their respective Vice-Presidents every three months. When either or all of the regular deputies cannot attend, then the Vice-President shall have power to appoint special deputies for that occasion. Vice-Presidents shall be delegates at large to the National Convention.

SEC. 7. The Treasurer shall receive and take charge of all moneys, property, and security of the National Association delivered to him by the Secretary, and all moneys that accumulate

'in his hands over and above the amount of his bond ($10,000), he shall deposit in bank, taking a certificate of deposit therefor, and all such certificates he shall turn over to the Trustees of the National Lodge. He shall pay, through the Secretary, all warrants regularly drawn on him, signed by the President and countersigned by the Secretary, as required by this Constitution, and none others. He shall submit to the National Convention a complete statement of all receipts and disbursements during his term of office. He shall be required to attend the Sessions of the National Association; and at the expiration of his term of office, he shall deliver up to the successor all moneys, securities, books, and papers of the National Association under his control.

SEC. 8. It shall be the duty of the Board of Trustees to receive and hold the certificates of deposit turned over to them by the Treasurer of the National Lodge, as set forth in the duties of the Treasurer, and in no case shall the Trustees return to the Treasurer any of said certificates, except on the order of the President, attested by the Secretary of the National Lodge. They shall also hold the required bonds of the President, Secretary, and Treasurer, which shall be five thousand dollars ($5,000.00) each for the President and Secretary, and ten thousand dollars ($10,000.00) for the Treasurer. They shall also, in conjunction with the President, Secretary, and Treasurer, audit all accounts of the National Lodge every three months, which settlement shall be final for each quarter.

A copy of such settlement shall be sent to each Sub-Lodge by the Secretary of the National Lodge, in which shall appear the individual expenses of the National Lodge Officers, including the Deputies and members of the Executive and Conference Committees of the several districts, and those settlements shall be referred to the Committee on Auditing at each National Convention. For the faithful performance of their duties the Trustees shall give a bond of five thousand dollars ($5,000.00) each, which shall be deposited with the President.

SEC. 9. The Trustees and officers of the National Lodge shall also constitute an Advisory Board to the President of

the National Lodge, with whom he shall consult at his discretion.

SEC. 10. The President of the National Association shall preside at all National Conventions. He shall preserve order and enforce the laws thereof. He shall have the casting vote when equally divided on any question, but shall not vote at other times, except at the election of officers pro tem. He shall make out and announce the following committees: —

On report of the President and other officers, on Ways and Means, on Auditing, on Secret Work, on Grievance, on Claims, on Appeals, on Constitution and General Laws, on General Good of the Order.

SEC. 11. The National Lodge Officers, Vice-Presidents, Deputies, Executive, and Conference Committees shall, at the end of each quarter, present to the Secretary of the National Lodge, an itemized report of their actual lost time in the mill and all travelling and other necessary expenses incurred by them in the discharge of their duties, which shall be paid by the National Association. (See Section 8 of this Article.)

SEC. 12. The term of office of the President, Secretary, Treasurer, and Trustees of the National Lodge, also the Vice-Presidents of the several Districts and Divisions, shall not expire until the first day of October, after a successor to either of them has been elected.

ARTICLE V. — REVENUE.

SECTION 1. The revenue of this Association shall be derived as follows: —

For issuing a Charter to a Subordinate Lodge, $5.00; new Seal, $6.00; remodeling an old Seal, $4.50; Rituals, $1.00 each; Due and Withdrawal Cards, 10 cents each; Constitution and General Laws, 10 cents each; Blank Reports, 10 cents each.

SEC. 2. In order to create a fund to meet the expenses of the National Association it shall be the duty of the President to assess a quarterly tax on the different Subordinate Lodges, in proportion to the number of taxable members on the last report preceding the date assessments are made, sufficient to defray the expenses of the National Association.

SEC. 3. In order to create a fund for the support of victimized members, or such members as may be engaged in legalized strikes, it shall be required that each member of the Association shall pay to his lodge, for the Protective Fund, the sum of twenty-five cents per month.

SEC. 4. At the last stated meeting in each quarter the Financial Secretary of each lodge shall report to the lodge the correct number of members on his books taxable to the Protective Fund for the quarter, when an order shall be drawn on the Treasurer for a sum equal to seventy-five cents for every member on the books thus reported by the Financial Secretary, and the sum thus drawn on the Treasurer shall be given to the Corresponding Representative, who shall, as soon as possible, forward the same to the Secretary of the National Lodge, who will receipt therefor.

SEC. 5. In order to replenish the Protective Fund when it has been depleted by a long and continuous drain thereon, the President of the National Lodge shall have discretionary power to levy a special assessment upon each member reported in good standing on the past quarterly report, except members on strike or out of work two weeks, which assessment must be collected by the Financial Secretary of the lodge and sent to the Secretary of the National Lodge without delay.

SEC. 6. Any member who is sick or out of employment during the period of one full month shall be exempt from paying the twenty-five cents per month to the Protective Fund until he recovers from his sickness or finds employment. But members out of employment must report the fact to their lodge at every regular meeting or be charged with the twenty-five cents per month to the Protective Fund.

SEC. 7. All moneys due the National Association shall be forwarded to the Secretary thereof by draft (on New York, Philadelphia, or Pittsburg), Express, P. O. Order, or Registered Letter. For checks sent on any bank, except in the city of Pittsburg, twenty-five cents extra will be charged for collection.

ARTICLE VII. — Strikes.

Section 1. No Sub-Lodge under the jurisdiction of this Association shall be permitted to enter into a strike unless authorized by the Executive Committee of their district or division.

Sec. 2. When the Executive Committee of a district or division find it necessary, in accordance with the laws of this Association, to legalize a strike in any one department of a mill or works, it shall be required that the men of all other departments shall also cease work until the difficulty is settled.

Sec. 3. When a strike has been legalized, and the general office of the Association has been properly notified of the fact, the Secretary of the National Lodge shall at once prepare a printed statement of all the facts as near as possible, and forward to all lodges, warning all true men not to accept work in such mills.

Sec. 4. Any Subordinate Lodge entering into a strike in the manner provided by the laws of this Association, shall receive from the Protective Fund the sum of four dollars ($4.00) per week for each member actually engaged in the strike in the mill over which the lodge has jurisdiction, provided they remain in the locality of the strike, or notify the Corresponding Representative of that lodge of their location, and their being unemployed each week while on strike, and have held membership in the Association for six months, are not in arrears, and the lodge to which they belong is in good standing in the National Association. This section also applies to members who are standing turns in the mill on strike, and who hold no other situation except that of standing turns in that mill.

Sec. 5. No member shall be entitled to strike benefits for the first two weeks while on a legalized strike. Payment of benefits shall date from the commencement of the fourth week after the strike has been legalized, and no benefits shall be allowed for the fractional part of the first week.

Sec. 6. A member who has been suspended or expelled shall not receive any strike benefits until six months after he has been restored to membership.

SEC. 7. If any member or members, while receiving benefits from this Association shall work three or more days in one week, at any job, either in or outside of a mill or factory, he or they shall not be entitled to benefits for that week.

SEC. 8. Any member engaged in a legalized strike, procuring a permanent situation elsewhere, forfeits his claims to strike benefits during the continuance of such strike.

ARTICLE VIII. — VICTIMIZED MEMBERS.

SECTION 1. Should any member or members of this Association be discharged (victimized) from his or their employment for taking an active part in the affairs of this Association, either as a member of the Mill or Conference Committee, or for otherwise being active in promoting and guarding the interests of this Association, such member or members shall use his or their best endeavors, with the Manager, to get reinstated, and failing in this, he or they shall then and there report such case to the chairman of the Mill Committee, who shall at once proceed to investigate the case as set forth in Sections 2 and 3 of Article VI. Should the committee fail to get the brother or brothers reinstated, they shall then carry the case to the lodge in precisely the same manner as in cases where the whole mill is involved in difficulty, and in no case of individual discharge (except the Mill Committee have good grounds to believe that the brother is discharged *without just cause*), shall such job be declared vacant until the Executive Committee of the district or division has decided the case.

SEC. 2. Should the Executive Committee of the district or division, after deciding the brother victimized, deem the organization unable to sustain a strike for his reinstatement, he shall receive from the Protective Fund of the Association six dollars ($6.00) per week until another situation has been procured for him, either by himself or other members of the Association. The law applying to the payment of victimized benefits shall be the same as that governing the payment of strike benefits. (See Sections 5, 6 and 7 of Article VII.)

ARTICLE X. — Scale of Prices.

Section 1. Wherever practicable, steps shall be taken to provide a scale of prices for every trade or calling in each district represented in this Association.

ARTICLE XVII. — Dishonorable Members.

Section 1. Any member robbing or embezzling from a brother member, or leaving a member in debt with intent to defraud by not giving proper notice of his departure, or has been fraudulently receiving or misapplying the funds of the Association, or the money of any member or candidate intrusted to him for payment of the same, or by divulging any of the proceedings of his lodge, or who has slandered any brother member, or advocated division of the funds or separation of lodge districts, or by acting contrary to the established rules of this Association on any question affecting the price of labor, or the system of working in any district, if opposed to the interests of his fellow-workmen in keeping with the rules of this Association, shall, upon trial and conviction thereof, be punished by fine, suspension, or expulsion, as may be determined by two-thirds of the members present.

ARTICLE XXVIII. — Fines for Various Causes.

Section 1. Officers and members of Subordinate Lodges are required to be punctual in their attendance.

Sec. 2. Officers of Subordinate Lodges failing to attend the regular meetings of the lodge shall, for each omission, be fined twenty-five cents, unless satisfactory reasons can be shown, in which case the fine shall be remitted.

Sec. 3. Members of Subordinate Lodges failing to attend meetings of their lodge at least once a month, shall be fined the sum of ten cents, unless excused through sickness or some unavoidable cause.

Sec. 4. Any member of Subordinate Lodges failing to appear at the last stated meeting in June and December, shall be fined fifty cents, unless he can give satisfactory evidence that it was impossible to attend.

SEC. 5. Any member of Subordinate lodges persisting in using unseemly language, or in an indecent manner giving offence to a brother member, or by offensive conduct, shall be fined one dollar for the first offence, and if he still persists in the unmanly use of such language, he shall be excluded from the lodge room, and not permitted to re-enter during the meeting.

SEC. 6. The Chairman of any committee failing to report at the time required, unless further time be granted, shall be fined one dollar. Such fine, however, shall be remitted when satisfactory explanations are given.

SEC. 7. Any member entering a Subordinate Lodge under the influence of liquor, shall for the first offence be fined one dollar, and double the sum for every subsequent offence.

SEC. 8. Any member of a Subordinate Lodge violating his obligation to this Order, shall be liable to a fine of not less than three dollars, reprimand, suspension, or expulsion, according to a decision of his lodge, on a two-thirds majority.

SEC. 9. Any Corresponding Representative failing or neglecting to prepare and forward the quarterly report of his lodge, or to attend to such other duties as pertain to his office, shall be fined two dollars.

SEC. 10. All fines thus imposed, if not paid at the time, shall be charged by the Financial Secretary to the person from whom due, and shall stand against such person as regular dues, and must be liquidated to entitle him to any privileges or benefits of this Association.

V.

MANIFESTO OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING PEOPLES' ASSOCIATION.

TO THE WORKINGMEN OF AMERICA.

FELLOW-WORKMEN: The Declaration of Independence says: —

" . . . But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce

them (the people) under absolute Despotism, it is *their right*, it is *their duty* to throw off such government and provide new guards for their future security."

This thought of Thomas Jefferson was the justification for armed resistance by our forefathers, which gave birth to our Republic, and do not the necessities of our present time compel us to reassert their declaration?

Fellow-Workmen, we ask you to give us your attention for a few moments. We ask you candidly to read the following manifesto issued in your behalf, in the behalf of your wives and children, in behalf of humanity and progress.

Our present society is founded on the expoliation of the propertyless classes by the propertied. This expoliation is such that the propertied (capitalists) buy the working force body and soul of the propertyless, for the price of the mere costs of existence (wages), and take for themselves, *i.e.*, steal, the amount of new values (products) which exceeds this price, whereby wages are made to represent the necessities instead of the earnings of the wage-laborer.

As the non-possessing classes are forced by their poverty to offer for sale to the propertied their working forces, and as our present production on a grand scale enforces technical development with immense rapidity, so that by the application of an always decreasing number of human working forces, an always increasing amount of products is created; so does the supply of working forces increase constantly, while the demand therefor decreases. This is the reason why the workers compete more and more intensely in selling themselves, causing their wages to sink, or at least on the average, never raising them above the margin necessary for keeping intact their working ability.

Whilst by this process the propertyless are entirely debarred from entering the ranks of the propertied, even by the most strenuous exertions, the propertied, by means of the ever-increasing plundering of the working class, are becoming richer day by day, without in any way being themselves productive.

If now and then one of the propertyless class become rich, it is not by their own labor, but from opportunities which they

have to speculate upon, and absorb the labor-product of others.

With the accumulation of individual wealth, the greed and power of the propertied grows. They use all the means for competing among themselves for the robbery of the people. In this struggle, generally, the less-propertied (middle class) are overcome, while the great capitalists, par excellence, swell their wealth enormously, concentrate entire branches of production, as well as trade and intercommunication, into their hands, and develop into monopolists. The increase of products, accompanied by simultaneous decrease of the average income of the working mass of the people, leads to so-called "business" and "commercial" crises, when the misery of the wage-workers is forced to the extreme.

For illustration, the last census of the United States shows that after deducting the cost of raw material, interest, rents, risks, etc., the propertied class have absorbed — *i.e.*, stolen — more than five-eighths of all products, leaving scarcely three-eighths to the producers. The propertied class, being scarcely one-tenth of our population, and in spite of their luxury and extravagance, unable to consume their enormous "profits," and the producers, unable to consume more than they receive, — three-eighths, — so-called "over-productions" must necessarily take place. The terrible results of panics are well known.

The increasing eradication of working forces from the productive process, annually increases the percentage of the propertyless population, which becomes pauperized, and is driven to "crime," vagabondage, prostitution, suicide, starvation, and general depravity. This system is unjust, insane, and murderous. It is therefore necessary to totally destroy it with and by all means, and with the greatest energy on the part of every one who suffers by it, and who does not want to be made culpable for its continued existence by his inactivity.

Agitation for the purpose of organization; organization for the purpose of rebellion. In these few words the ways are marked, which the workers must take if they want to be rid of their chains, as the economic condition is the same in all coun-

tries of so-called "civilization," as the governments of all Monarchies and Republics work hand in hand for the purpose of opposing all movements of the thinking part of the workers, as finally the victory in the decisive combat of the proletarians against their oppressors can only be gained by the simultaneous struggle along the whole line of the bourgeois (capitalistic) society, so therefore the international fraternity of peoples, as expressed in the International Working People's Association, presents itself a self-evident necessity.

True order should take its place. This can only be achieved when all implements of labor —the soil and other premises of production, in short, capital produced by labor — is changed into societary property. Only by this presupposition is destroyed every possibility of the future spoliation of man by man. Only by common, undivided capital can all be enabled to enjoy in their fulness the fruits of the common toil. Only by the impossibility of accumulating individual (private) capital can every one be compelled to work who makes a demand to live.

This order of things allows production to regulate itself according to the demand of the whole people, so that nobody need work more than a few hours a day, and that all nevertheless can satisfy their needs. Hereby time and opportunity are given for opening to the people the way to the highest possible civilization; the privileges of higher intelligence fall with the privileges of wealth and birth. To the achievement of such a system the political organizations of the capitalistic classes — be they monarchies or republics — form the barriers. These political structures (States), which are completely in the hands of the propertied, have no other purpose than the upholding of the present order of expoliation.

All laws are directed against the working people. In so far as the opposite appears to be the case, they serve on one hand to blind the worker, while on the other hand they are simply evaded. Even the school serves only the purpose of furnishing the offspring of the wealthy with those qualities necessary to uphold their class domination. The children of the poor get scarcely a formal elementary training, and this, too, is mainly

directed to such branches as tend to producing prejudices, arrogance, and servility; in short, want of sense. The Church finally seeks to make complete idiots out of the mass and to make them forego the paradise on earth by promising a fictitious heaven. The capitalistic press, on the other hand, takes care of the confusion of spirits in public life. All these institutions, far from aiding in the education of the masses, have for their object the keeping in ignorance of the people. They are all in the pay and under the direction of the capitalistic classes. The workers can therefore expect no help from any capitalistic party in their struggle against the existing system. They must achieve their liberation by their own efforts. As in former times a privileged class never surrendered its tyranny, neither can it be expected that the capitalists of this age will give up their rulership without being forced to do it.

If there ever could have been any question on this point, it should long ago have been dispelled by the brutalities which the bourgeoisie of all countries — in America as well as in Europe — constantly commits, as often as the proletariat anywhere energetically move to better their condition. It becomes, therefore, self-evident that the struggle of the proletariat with the burgeoisie must have a violent revolutionary character.

We could show by scores of illustrations that all attempts in the past to reform this monstrous system by peaceable means, such as the ballot, have been futile, and all such efforts in the future must necessarily be so, for the following reasons: —

The political institutions of our time are the agencies of the propertied class; their mission is the upholding of the privileges of their masters; any reform in your own behalf would curtail these privileges. To this they will not and cannot consent, for it would be suicidal to themselves.

That they will not resign their privileges voluntarily we know; that they will not make any concessions to us we likewise know. Since we must then rely upon the kindness of our masters for whatever redress we have, and knowing that from them no good may be expected, there remains but one recourse — FORCE! Our forefathers have not only told us that against despots force

is justifiable, because it is the only means, but they themselves have set the immemorial example.

By force our ancestors liberated themselves from political oppression, by force their children will have to liberate themselves from economic bondage. "It is, therefore, your right; it is your duty," says Jefferson; "to arms!"

What we would achieve is, therefore, plainly and simply, —

First, Destruction of the existing class rule, by all means, *i.e.*, by energetic, relentless, revolutionary, and international action.

Second, Establishment of a free society based upon co-operative organization of production.

Third, Free exchange of equivalent products by and between the productive organizations without commerce and profit-mongery.

Fourth, Organization of education on a secular, scientific, and equal basis for both sexes.

Fifth, Equal rights for all without distinction to sex or race.

Sixth, Regulation of all public affairs by free contracts between the autonomous (independent) communes and associations, resting on a federalistic basis.

Whoever agrees with this ideal let him grasp our outstretched brother hands!

Proletarians of all countries, unite!

Fellow-workmen, all we need for the achievement of this great end is ORGANIZATION and UNITY.

There exists now no great obstacle to that unity. The work of peaceful education and revolutionary conspiracy well can and ought to run in parallel lines.

The day has come for solidarity. Join our ranks! Let the drum beat defiantly the roll of battle, "Workmen of all lands, unite! You have nothing to loose but your chains; you have a world to win!"

Tremble, oppressors of the world! Not far beyond your purblind sight there dawns the scarlet and sable lights of the JUDGMENT DAY.

VI.

LETTER TO TRAMPS.

To Tramps, the Unemployed, the Disinherited, and Miserable.

A word to the 35,000 now tramping the streets of this great city, with hands in pockets, gazing listlessly about you at the evidences of wealth and pleasure of which you own no part, not sufficient even to purchase yourself a bit of food with which to appease the pangs of hunger now gnawing at your vitals. It is with you and the hundreds of thousands of others similarly situated in this great land of plenty, that I wish to have a word.

Have you not worked hard all your life, since you were old enough for your labor to be of use in the production of wealth? Have you not toiled long, hard, and laboriously in producing wealth? And in all those years of drudgery, do you not know you have produced thousand upon thousands of dollars' worth of wealth, which you did not then, do not now, and unless you act, never will, own any part in? Do you not know that when you were harnessed to a machine, and that machine harnessed to steam, and thus you toiled your ten, twelve, and sixteen hours in the twenty-four, that during this time in all these years you received only enough of your labor product to furnish yourself the bare, coarse necessaries of life, and that when you wished to purchase anything for yourself and family it always had to be of the cheapest quality? If you wanted to go anywhere you had to wait until Sunday, so little did you receive for your unremitting toil that you dare not stop for a moment, as it were? And do you not know that with all your squeezing, pinching, and economizing, you never were enabled to keep but a few days ahead of the wolves of want? And that at last when the caprice of your employer saw fit to create an artificial famine by limiting production, that the fires in the furnace were extinguished, the iron horse to which you had been harnessed was stilled, the factory door locked up, you turned upon the highway a tramp, with hunger in your stomach and rags upon your back?

Yet your employer told you that it was over-production which made him close up. Who cared for the bitter tears and heart-pangs of your loving wife and helpless children, when you bid them a loving "God bless you!" and turned upon the tramper's road to seek employment elsewhere? I say, who cared for those heartaches and pains? You were only a tramp now, to be execrated and denounced as a "worthless tramp and a vagrant" by that very class who had been engaged all those years in robbing you and yours. Then can you not see that the "good boss" or the "bad boss" cuts no figure whatever? that you are the common prey of both, and that their mission is simply robbery? Can you not see that it is the INDUSTRIAL SYSTEM and not the "boss" which must be changed?

Now, when all these bright summer and autumn days are going by, and you have no employment, and consequently can save up nothing, and when the winter's blast sweeps down from the north, and all the earth is wrapped in a shroud of ice, hearken not to the voice of the hypocrite who will tell you that it was ordained of God that "the poor ye have always"; or to the arrogant robber who will say to you that you "drank up all your wages last summer when you had work, and that is the reason why you have nothing now, and the workhouse or the woodyard is too good for you; that you ought to be shot." And shoot you they will if you present your petitions in too emphatic a manner. So hearken not to them, but list! Next winter, when the cold blasts are creeping through the rents in your seedy garments; when the frost is biting your feet through the holes in your worn-out shoes, and when all wretchedness seems to have centered in and upon you; when misery has marked you for her own, and life has become a burden and existence a mockery; when you have walked the streets by day, and slept upon hard boards by night, and at last determined by your own hand to take your life, — for you would rather go out into utter nothingness than to longer endure an existence which has become such a burden, — so, perchance, you determine to dash yourself into the cold embrace of the lake rather than longer suffer thus. But halt before you commit this last tragic act in the drama of your

simple existence. Stop! Is there nothing you can do to insure those whom you are about to orphan against a like fate? The waves will only dash over you in mockery of your rash act; but stroll you down the avenues of the rich, and look through the magnificent plate windows into their voluptuous homes, and here you will discover the *very identical robbers* who have despoiled you and yours. Then let your tragedy be enacted *here!* Awaken them from their wanton sports at your expense. Send forth your petition, and let them read it by the red glare of destruction. Thus when you cast "one long, lingering look behind," you can be assured that you have spoken to these robbers in the only language which they have ever been able to understand; for they have never yet deigned to notice any petition from their slaves that they were not *compelled* to read by the red glare bursting from the cannons' mouths, or that was not handed to them upon the point of the sword. You need no organization when you make up your mind to present this kind of petition. In fact, an organization would be a detriment to you; but each of you hungry tramps who read these lines avail yourselves of those little methods of warfare which Science has placed in the hands of the poor man, and you will become a power in this or any other land.

Learn the use of explosives!

VII.

PLATFORM OF THE SOCIALISTIC LABOR PARTY.

Labor being the only creator of all wealth and civilization, it rightfully follows that those who perform all labor and create all wealth should enjoy the result of their toil.

But this is rendered impossible by the modern system of production, which, since the discovery of steam-power and since the general introduction of machinery, is in all branches of industry carried with such gigantic means and appliances as but a few are able to possess.

The present industrial system is co-operative in *one respect only*, which is, That not, as in former times, the individual works alone for his own account, but dozens, hundreds, and thousands of men work together in shops, in mines, on huge farms and lands, co-operating according to the most efficient division of labor. But the fruits of this co-operative labor are not reaped by the workers themselves, but are in a great measure appropriated by the owners of the means of production; to wit, of the machines, of the factories, of the mines, and of the land.

This system, by gradually extinguishing the middle class, necessarily produces two separate sets of men: That class of the workers, and that of the great bosses.

It brings forth as its natural outgrowths, —

The planlessness and reckless rate of production.

The waste of human and natural forces.

The commercial and industrial crisis.

The constant uncertainty of the material existence of the wage-workers.

The misery of the proletarian masses.

The accumulation of wealth in the hands of a few.

Such a condition, which under the present industrial *régime* cannot but become more and more aggravated, is inconsistent with the interests of mankind, with the principles of justice and true democracy, as it destroys those rights which the Declaration of Independence of the United States held to be inalienable in all men; viz., life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

This condition shortens and imperils life by want and misery. It destroys liberty because the economical subjection of the wage-workers to the owners of the means of production immediately leads to their political dependence, and it finally frustrates the pursuit of happiness, which is never possible when life and personal liberty are in constant danger.

To put an end to this degrading state of things, we strive to introduce the *perfect* system of co-operative production: that is, we demand that the workers obtain the undivided product of their toil.

This being only feasible by securing to the workers control of the means of production,

We demand, —

That the land, the instruments of production (machines, factories, etc.), and the products of labor become the common property of the whole people; and,

That all production be organized co-operatively, and be carried on under the direction of the commonwealth; as also the co-operative distribution of the products according to the service rendered, and to the just needs of the individuals.

To realize our demands, we strive to gain control of the political power, with all proper means.

The Socialistic Labor Party claims the title, "Labor Party," because it recognizes the existence of an oppressed class of wage-workers as its fundamental truth, and the emancipation of this oppressed laboring class as its foremost object.

Demands for the Amelioration of the Condition of the Working People under the Present Industrial System of Society.

The Socialistic Labor Party strives for a radical revision of the Constitution and Statutes of the United States, the States and Municipalities, according to the following demands: —

a. Social Demands.

1. The United States shall take possession of the railroads, canals, telegraphs, telephones, and all other means of public transportation.

2. The municipalities to take possession of the local railroads, of ferries, and of the supply of light to streets and public places.

3. Public lands to be declared inalienable. They shall be leased according to fixed principles. Revocation of all grants of lands by the United States to corporations or individuals, the conditions of which have not been complied with or which are otherwise illegal.

4. The United States to have the exclusive right to issue money.

5. Congressional legislation providing for the scientific management of forests and waterways, and prohibiting the waste of the natural resources of the country.

6. The United States to have the right of expropriation of running patents, new inventions to be free to all, but inventors to be remunerated by national rewards.

7. Legal provision that the rent of dwellings shall not exceed a certain percentage of the value of the buildings as taxed by the municipality.

8. Inauguration of public works in times of economical depression.

9. Progressive income tax and tax on inheritances; but smaller incomes to be exempt.

10. Compulsory school education of all children under fourteen years of age, instruction in all educational institutions to be gratuitous, and to be made accessible to all by public assistance (furnishing meals, clothes, books, etc.). All instruction to be under the direction of the United States and to be organized on a uniform plan.

11. Repeal of all pauper, tramp, conspiracy, and temperance laws. Unabridged right of combination.

12. Official statistics concerning the condition of labor. Prohibition of the employment of children in the school age, and the employment of female labor in occupations detrimental to health or morality. Prohibition of the convict labor contract system.

13. All wages to be paid in cash money. Equalization by law of women's wages with those of men where equal service is performed.

14. Laws for the protection of life and limbs of working people, and an efficient employer's liability law.

15. Legal incorporation of trades-unions.

16. Reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the progress of production; establishment by Act of Congress of a legal work-day of not more than eight hours for all industrial

workers, and corresponding provisions for all agricultural laborers.

b. POLITICAL DEMANDS.

1. Abolition of the Presidency, Vice-Presidency, and Senate of the United States. An Executive Board to be established, whose members are to be elected, and may at any time be recalled by the House of Representatives as the only legislative body. The States and Municipalities to adopt corresponding amendments of their constitution and statutes.

2. Municipal self-government.

3. Direct vote and secret ballots in all elections. Universal and equal right of suffrage without regard to color, creed, or sex. Election days to be legal holidays. The principle of minority representation to be introduced.

4. The people to have the right to propose laws (initiative) and to vote upon all laws of importance (Referendum.)

5. The members of all legislative bodies to be responsible to and subject to recall by the constituency.

6. Uniform law throughout the United States. Administration of justice to be free of charge. Abolition of capital punishment.

7. Separation of all public affairs from religion; church property to be subject to taxation.

8. Uniform national marriage laws. Divorce to be granted upon mutual consent, and upon providing for the care of the children.

VIII.

A DECLARATION BY THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE WAGE-WORKERS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED.

When in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bonds which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of

earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinion of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created free and equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, and the right of each to the undivided product of his labor.

That to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.

Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed.

But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferances of the people of these United States, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former system of government.

The history of the present government of these United States is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having, in direct object, the establishment of a system of absolute tyranny and oppression over the people of these States.

To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world:

It has refused its assent to laws the most wholesome for the public good.

It has refused to pass laws for the accommodation of large districts of people.

It has in every way betrayed the interests of the people.

It has manipulated the votes of the people to subserve the personal ends of its officials.

It has placed in offices of public trust, self-admitted thieves and bribe-takers.

It has created a multitude of new offices, and has sent out swarms of officials to harass the people.

It has instituted a system under which public office may be bought and sold, and has established a market-value for the votes of the ignorant.

It has, in violation of its own formulated laws, continuously appropriated public funds and public offices, that the rule of a faction might be indefinitely prolonged.

It has, in the shape of bastard appropriations, recklessly distributed the wealth which our tax-payers year after year pour into the governmental coffers, that its members might share in the spoils.

It has permitted and assisted railroad corporations to assume the control of entire States.

It has upheld such corporations by locating in such States, judges who are empowered to construe the Constitution to their own ends.

It has created among the people distinctions as marked as those under monarchial reign.

It has established a "shoddy aristocracy" in our midst.

It has refused legal incorporation to organized bodies of orderly workingmen.

It has legislated always for the interests of the few as against the interests of the many.

As the result:

Justice has become a by-word.

Patriotism is unknown.

In the mad rush for wealth and political sinecure, humanity and morality have been forgotten; "labor" has been humiliated and trampled in the mud.

"God" has assumed the figure of the "mighty dollar."

In every stage of these oppressions, we have petitioned for redress: our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury.

Nor have we been wanting in attention to our government officials. We have warned them, from time to time, of attempts made to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them, by the ties of our common kindred, to cease these usurpations, but in all cases have they been deaf to the voice of justice.

We, therefore, the *representatives* of the *wage-workers* of the *United States* of America, in *General Congress assembled*, appealing to the *Supreme Judge* of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name, and by the authority of the *wage-workers* here represented, solemnly publish and declare, that the *Trade and Labor Organizations* herein represented are, and of right ought to be, *free and independent organizations*; that they are absolved from all political allegiance to the present government, and to the old political parties, and that all political connection between them is, and ought to be totally dissolved; and that, as *free and independent organizations*, they have full power to *formulate their own laws* and to enforce them, by the *boycott*, by *social ostracism*, and by any and all *peaceful measures* which may hereafter be deemed necessary.

And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance upon the protection of a *Divine Providence*, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our services, and our sacred honor.

July 4, 1886. Signed:

REPRESENTATIVES OF LABOR ORGANIZATIONS.

APPENDIX II.

THE RELATION OF TEMPERANCE REFORM TO THE LABOR MOVEMENT.

By Richard T. Ely.

Hon. A. J. Streeter, prominent in the ranks of organized farmers and workingmen, has recently written a letter in favor of an alliance between the advocates of temperance reform and the advocates of labor reform. This letter is a plain manifestation of a growth which has been taking place for several years.

Labor organizations and their leaders have evidently been more and more impressed with the fact that intemperance is one of the deadliest foes of the workingmen of this country, and their sentiment in favor of temperance reform has been becoming constantly more intense. Evidences of this abound, and may be found in labor platforms, in reports of meetings of workingmen, and in the labor press. It is scarcely too much to say that the labor organizations of the country are, at least, temperance organizations, and many of their members and leaders are outspoken total abstainers and prohibitionists. Every one knows that this is the case with that much misunderstood and more maligned organization, the Knights of Labor. Very impressive must have been the public pledge of total abstinence given to Mr. Powderly at the Richmond convention a few years since, by all the members of the executive board. A little later I attended a fair of the Knights of Labor in Baltimore and found on sale no beverage stronger than lemonade.

On the other hand, it is equally natural that the leaders of the great temperance movement should be thoroughly in sympathy with all just aspirations of the toiling men and women of the

world. What else but broad humanitarian views could have led these noble men and women to dedicate their lives to the cause of temperance? Many of them regarded the temperance movement as chiefly a labor movement. The evil of intemperance attracted their attention above all others, because it seemed to them the greatest curse of the age.

If the labor movement has broadened in the direction of temperance, it is equally certain that the current of temperance reform is broadening out and taking in a considerable portion of what is called labor reform. The various platforms of the temperance party, framed by state and national conventions, make this plain, and efforts to eliminate parts of the platform dealing with other aspects of labor reform than temperance have been happily voted down.

Any one who will read the testimony of Miss Frances E. Willard, President of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, and of her excellent lieutenants, before the United States Senate Committee on Education and Labor, will be convinced that the scope of the work of that organization is anything but narrow. The testimony was taken in New York in October, 1883, and was published in 1885, by the Government Printing Office, as Volume II. of the Testimony taken by the Committee. Recognizing that prevention is always better than cure, heredity and hygiene receive special attention, and each has a department in the Woman's Christian Temperance Union assigned it. Scientific temperance instruction has become general over the entire length and breadth of the land within a few years, and it is due to these earnest workers. Cooking is also considered in its relations to intemperance. I find this sentence in Miss Willard's testimony: "We think that if the people were taught to prepare food in a simple, hygienic manner, it would greatly redound to their benefit in establishing simple, unartificial habits." This confirms the utterance of a distinguished American physiologist that insufficient variety of food and poorly cooked food tend to intemperance by producing an unnatural craving for strong drink. A "Flower Mission," for taking flowers to the sick, is mentioned in another department of work. Military drill among boys has also

been introduced as a good feature of temperance reform. But it is not easy to enumerate all the ramifications of this temperance work. It is seen clearly by women like Miss Willard that whatever builds up the home, fosters patriotism, and stimulates love for our fellowmen, must diminish intemperance. The temperance movement is not a single movement. As I take it, the word temperance indicates a centre of great social activity. The temperance movement is a deep, wide movement of social reform which centres in temperance, but from that centre spreads out in ever more and more inclusive circles until it touches the entire life of society.

It is well, then, in view of these circumstances, to look at the temperance movement from the standpoint of the workingman, and to consider the labor movement from the standpoint of the temperance reformer. If the two cannot be coalesced, it is at least desirable that they should proceed in parallel lines.

I. Let us reflect for a moment on the loss occasioned to the workingmen of the United States by the use of intoxicating drinks. The direct loss has been often described and its amount can be readily learned by a perusal of easily accessible tracts and pamphlets. The importance of a few cents a day is however not sufficiently appreciated by people in moderate circumstances, and still less is it by wage-earners. A street-car line in Baltimore charges five cents for a single fare, but sells six tickets for twenty-five cents. It may be put this way: if you invest twenty-five cents, you receive one extra ticket, good for a five-cent ride; that is, you make twenty per cent on your investment, which is equal to four or five years' interest on the money. Yet I have ridden on a car of this line when out of ten persons I was the only one to put a ticket into the box. In Washington, where all lines are compelled by law to sell six tickets for twenty-five cents, one may any day witness similar evidences of thriftlessness. You may even see a man pay fifteen cents in fares for three persons, treating two others, while by investing ten cents additional he could get six tickets.

This illustration shows widespread and very general lack of thrift. The expenditure of money for intoxicating beverages is by far worse, for it is a loss not of twenty per cent, but of one

hundred per cent. Five cents or ten cents a day seems like a small sum, but it is easy to show that after the expiration of a number of years it becomes a very considerable sum, sufficient, in most parts of the country, let us say, to pay for a comfortable home for an artisan in twenty years. But the direct loss is only a part, only the smallest part of the whole loss. The habit of thriftlessness grows, and it becomes ruinous to one's financial prospects, condemning one to a life of poverty. Waste for alcoholic beverages means generally waste for other injurious or useless indulgences.

The sum of money which a workingman who is a moderate drinker, or only an occasional drinker, can save in a few years by the practice of total abstinence, may not seem large, and let us confess frankly that it is small, and, as the rate of interest falls, becomes smaller; but it is a mistake to undervalue the utility of a small sum of ready money, for at a critical period it will often prove to be the difference between a life of comfort, usefulness, health, contentment, and a life of discouragement and poverty. Even so small a sum as fifty dollars may be the turning-point, and a deposit of ten dollars in a savings bank will spare one many a humiliation.

These are homely, old-fashioned arguments, but they cannot be repeated too often. They are unfortunately apt to arouse irritation and ill-will on the part of workingmen, because they are frequently put forward as the only thing which needs to be said on the subject of poverty. They are too often made a pretext on the part of the well-to-do, for their failure to concern themselves with the labor problem. It is very comfortable to the self-complacency of a plutocrat, as he sips his champagne, to say, "If the workingmen would stop drinking and save their money, they would never lack in this land of plenty. Intemperance is the cause of poverty and the only anti-poverty society needed is a society of one — each man for himself." Because this is so unjust and because its injustice is so keenly felt, the large grain of truth in it is too apt to be overlooked. It is this sort of talk more than anything else which has closed the ears of too many thinking workingmen to valid temperance argument.

The time lost on account of intemperance, and the strength of body wasted, have frequently been mentioned. Professor Huxley, the naturalist, has told us what kind of a body — broad shoulders and deep chest — he would wish for his son. He lays stress on physical strength, because in this age of sharp competition the turning-point of a life may be included within a few months, weeks, or days, and during this time final success may depend on power to sustain continuous exertion of the most intense kind. It is frequently necessary, to enable one to take the tide of fortune at its flood, to undergo arduous toil for a period of even years. Doubtless life is too intense and competition is too sharp, but the struggle for life must always be severe, and there is no prospect of improvement in a near future. He who burdens himself with habits which waste even a little time and dissipate even a little physical energy, enters the race handicapped; a loss of energy of which the loser may not even be conscious, has undoubtedly turned the scale of fortune against many a man.

The loss of mental energy is far more serious, on the whole, than the loss of physical strength, and this greater loss is experienced by many who never become intoxicated and who regard themselves as moderate drinkers.

The wage-earning classes need every bit of mental capacity which they possess or can acquire, to enable them to attain well-being in the struggle of modern industrial life. The wage-earning classes, as classes, must act solidly together. The solidarity of their interest can be disputed by no fair-minded and competent observer. Now, if this is so, every wage-earner who wastes any of his resources of body or mind by the use of alcoholic drinks, is an enemy of his class. At what disadvantage in dealing with employers are sullen and incompetent men, with no reserve of accumulated earnings, as compared with bright, open, and determined men! The talk about the equality of labor and capital in labor contracts is a farce, but why make the inequality needlessly great? Strikes occur too frequently, but that they are sometimes necessary is generally conceded. Upright and intelligent men will be very careful about entering on

a strike, but when once undertaken, they will make a good fight. What is the effect of intemperance and attendant lawlessness on strikes? It is needless to answer the question. Disorder is so manifestly injurious to strikers, that unscrupulous employers have been accused of sending emissaries among them to stir it up. Workingmen should remember Cromwell's praying soldiers, and the terror they were to their finally vanquished enemies. I think that absolutely temperate strikers, fleeing all association with saloons, opening every meeting of any sort with prayer, and holding a prayer-meeting or some kind of religious service every day, would inspire an unscrupulous individual or corporate employer with a new terror.

A good point was made in the testimony given by Mr. Alphonso Crosby before the United States Senate Committee, to which attention has already been called. He said that the wages of mechanics were set by drinking men, because drinking men were improvident, and, having no economic reserve, were obliged to take what they could get; they had nothing to fall back on. This is in keeping with what has been said about the solidarity of the interests of labor. Nothing is more disastrous to a man who has something to sell than to be obliged to force it on the market. A commodity under those circumstances will frequently not bring half-price. Now he who is obliged to force labor on the labor market does a thing equally disastrous, and his conduct is injurious to every workingman.

Intemperance weakens the working people in another way. It is made a reproach to them, and the innocent suffer with the guilty. It serves their opponents as a very efficient weapon. With the ordinary non-partisan — the man neither employer nor employed, in the usual sense — what is the most telling argument against the present agitation for the eight-hour day? Undoubtedly this: "More leisure means more time and more money for the saloon." Doubtless this is untrue, but in a good cause we ought not to give our enemies any handle to use against us.

A continual subject for discussion among workingmen is political action. It requires all the unimpaired power of the keenest intellects at their command, to decide what political course it is

best to take, and when any course is taken, it demands the utmost of their patience and self-control.

We hear in political economy of "the seen and the unseen," the unseen meaning simply that which is not readily seen. Now I think it is manifest that the worst effects of intemperance, considered from the standpoint of the labor movement, belong to the unseen. Is it not evident that temperance workers are among the best friends of the wage-earners of this country, and that any labor leader who has not sufficient mental power to grasp this, is unfit for his position? and, finally, that any intemperate laborer is an enemy to his class?

II. Let us now look at the labor movement from the standpoint of a broad-minded temperance reformer.

We should, I think, first of all, fully grasp the fact that the excessive use of strong drink is not merely the work of the devil. Perhaps I do not make my meaning clear. What I want to say is this: Men do not indulge in the use of intoxicating beverages merely because they are moved by an evil influence, and, except in the case of confirmed drinkers, not because they care particularly for what they drink. I am inclined to think that only a lesser part of the strength of the saloon is due to the love for the liquor which it dispenses. We must go below surface phenomena, and inquire what gives the saloon its strength? for when we do so, we shall become convinced that mere negative work is not half enough. If we simply drive devils out, they will return, as we are told, in sevenfold strength. A power for good must be introduced to take the place of evil influences expelled. *The greater part of temperance reform must be positive work*, and a failure to perceive this is, I think, one cause of many setbacks in the past, while an increasing recognition of this principle is precisely one of the most hopeful features of the temperance movement of to-day.

One main cause of the strength of the saloon is that it furnishes to the masses a convenient and always easily accessible meeting place and waiting place, free from restraints, and it is the only institution of the kind in American cities. One needs but to observe what can be seen any day and night in our cities

and to reflect seriously on its significance, to understand how far-reaching this proposition is.

Rich men have their social clubs, but these institutions are beyond the reach of the poor. Workingmen often wish to meet to talk over some proposed course of action, let us say, political. Where shall they meet? One place, and only one place, is always open, and that is the saloon. Many saloons keep large, pleasant rooms which can be engaged free of charge. What a temptation is this! Of course, the proprietor of the hall expects recompense, and every one who attends the meeting feels morally bound to drink at least two glasses of beer. The meetings which workingmen hold in these days are very frequent, and on the whole these frequent meetings are commendable, but it is a continual difficulty to find suitable meeting places.

What has been said is also a partial explanation of the strength of the saloon with the regular political parties. Many of the local headquarters are in saloons.

We have as yet taken but one step in ascertaining the causes of the strength of the saloon. A Baltimore cooper talked somewhat like this to a friend of mine: "What shall I do with my boys? I live in a small house, very hot in summer. I have eight children, one of them a crying, fretful infant, and when my boys come home after a hard day's work, they need recreation. They eat their supper and go on the streets and doubtless into the saloons, but I cannot say them nay. They are young fellows and must have some enjoyment, and there is nothing for them at home." My friend suggested the Y. M. C. A., but he shook his head. It was far away, and besides, he did not feel that his boys would be welcome. It was, moreover, expensive for a cooper's sons.

Take the street-car drivers of Baltimore. They work twelve hours and more a day; formerly, indeed, seventeen. The highest pay is two dollars a day. When one of them in winter has a free evening, how shall he pass it? Quite likely he has no friends with homes in the city, and to expect him to remain in his cold, cheerless attic is unreasonable. He wanders out on the street, he strolls about, he has nothing better to do. On every corner

he sees a saloon, and how warm it looks! How attractive the bright colors! how enticing the display of beautiful glass! He hears cheerful laughter and merry voices, and if he enters, he is thoroughly welcome. The price of admission is five cents. Is it any wonder that he goes in?

Men more favorably situated feel this temptation, as many who have been students away from home know full well. I remember meeting a Canadian student who had studied medicine in London. He said that on Sundays the only thing to do, if you did not want to pass the entire day in church, was to go to some place of temptation, for all the places of innocent recreation and amusement were closed. Many young men could tell the same tale. The devil has full swing on Sunday in great cities, for the churches make only a feeble competition for a few hours, and then are closed up.

Take also the case of men out of work, and remember that men in factories are idle about one-tenth of the year, and often for a longer period. What are they to do during these recurring periods of idleness?

Walking by a saloon, you may see a notice to the effect that base-ball scores are exhibited inside, and so they are always active to provide all those things and all those conveniences which men desire, and their pay is in liquor purchased, liquor with which those who drink would frequently as soon dispense as not.

If what is written is true, it will show many defects in our "holly-tree" inns and temperance restaurants. It seems to be supposed that what is drunk and what is eaten is the only reason why men frequent saloons, whereas it is only one reason, and probably in a very large majority of cases only a subordinate reason. Such an inn was once started in Baltimore, but did not succeed. An intelligent workingman told me that in the first place it was inconveniently situated on Charles Street, far away from the workingmen's quarters, and that in the second place it was presided over by ladies, as he said, dressed "in the tip of the fashion." He felt very uneasy, and after drinking his cup of coffee, left, never to return.

We have already advanced far enough to consider a few remedies. In one way or another, earnest attempts should be made to provide for the public convenient meeting places free from the temptations of the saloons. The holly-tree inns are a move in the right direction, but they should offer all the attractions of a saloon without the intoxicating beverages. I do not think they should be kept by ladies, but by men who have been successful as proprietors and managers of liquor saloons. When such a man, as occasionally happens, feels the degradation and wrong of his occupation, and is willing to make a change, this at once furnishes him with occupation, perhaps not so profitable, but at least sufficient to support him. All kinds of non-intoxicating beverages and good lunches should be provided at the lowest possible price; also tables and newspapers, giving men as good an opportunity to pass unoccupied time as the saloon, also rooms and halls for lodges, trades-unions, political clubs, and the like. There can, in my mind, be no doubt that such places would sooner or later be remunerative, although it might be necessary to lose a good deal of money at the start.

Some of the English cities seem to have provided public halls for meetings of citizens, and their experience is worthy of examination.

Some of our trades-unions and other labor organizations have done something to meet the want described, and they ought to receive more encouragement in efforts of this kind. A few winters since, I found two rather cheerless rooms in an upper story of a large building in Cleveland, as I was searching for an office. The rooms contained a few papers, checkerboards, packs of cards, etc. I asked a plainly dressed, but intelligent and honest-looking man, by whom the rooms were occupied, and was told by the Bricklayers' Union. He said that when "the boys" were out of work it furnished them with a lounging place and kept them out of the saloons.

The bricklayers of Philadelphia have a large, new hall, and when I visited it I found a store on the first floor vacant. It had not then been rented. The managers had received an offer of high rent for it from a man who wanted to open a saloon, but it

had been decided that under no circumstances would it be let for such a purpose, much as they might want the money. I noticed that the book-shelves were empty, and here was an opportunity for temperance workers and philanthropists to encourage a good beginning by providing literature of a high order to reduce still further the attractions of the saloon.

The Labor Lyceum of Myrtle Street, Brooklyn, furnishes a meeting place for workingmen, and rooms for many of their organizations. A benevolent physician has been active in aiding in its construction. It was desired to prohibit altogether the sale of intoxicating liquors in the building, but unfortunately it was difficult to pay for it, and reluctantly the right to sell beer was given to a man who pays to the Lyceum a certain sum for every keg sold.

Now, what temperance workers ought to do, it seems to me, is to take hold of good features of the labor movement and assist in their development. Here, as elsewhere, what is wanted is to help people to help themselves. It is a mistake to try to force things on people. What is wanted is to take hold of institutions spontaneously arising among the masses, and to help to give them a sound development.

Churches should do more; think of saloons open one hundred hours a week, and churches open, say, six hours! The churches, if open at all times, would furnish meeting places, and if they kept people from evil, I believe God would be pleased.

Workingmen's employers would often find it profitable to assist in this work. I visited the Hocking Valley in 1886. It is a mining region in Ohio, and was the scene of long-continued and more or less violent strikes a few years ago, as will be generally remembered. In New Straitsville I was struck by the utter cheerlessness and desolateness of the lives of people condemned to live in such a frightful place. I went in the evening to an entertainment given by a troupe of very indifferent minstrels. The charge was ten cents, and as I came out, a lot of boys eagerly asked for my ticket. The look on the faces of the men and boys was to me pathetic. They were famishing for some rational, health-giving amusement. Their employers had spent several

hundred thousand dollars, and done their business a damage, some say, of over a million, to gain a victory "in wind," as a prominent member of the syndicate said. The syndicate was determined to crush the miner's organization, but when I was in the place I think there was not even one miner who was a non-union man. I thought how much better it would have been for the syndicate to expend, say, one hundred thousand dollars, in the construction of a library and hall, and to give the men opportunities for a more wholesome life. It would have been appreciated, and would probably have saved all that was lost in fruitless strife.

Child-labor is a potent cause of intemperance, and here temperance reform and the labor movement should proceed unitedly. It is an evil which is rapidly growing, especially in the West. Children fall into bad ways, and are lost while yet too young to be fully responsible.

Tenement-house reform is another work which is essential to temperance reform. It is impossible to expel King Alcohol from the slums of cities like New York and Chicago so long as these slums exist. Negative work here will never accomplish the end desired. The slums are breathing holes of hell, and should be swept from the earth, and if Christian people would go earnestly to work and stop listening to the devil as he preaches *laissez faire*, let alone, non-interference, they could be swept from the earth.

Bad ventilation of mines and workshops weakens the constitution and paves the way for beer and whiskey. Let every temperance advocate support the workingmen in their effort to improve the condition of mines and workshops. Measures like these are not something which temperance people may feel free to support or not to support as they see fit. They are a real essential part of the temperance movement.

Playgrounds for children are needed. No American city has done its duty in this respect, and we are lagging far behind European cities. I notice how eagerly any open spot near my house is seized by boys and girls. They are hungry for innocent play, and much mischief comes from lack of opportunity. It is mere

overflow of animal spirits which can find no harmless channel into which to flow. The experience of Cornell University is instructive. Ex-President White told me that after military drill had been introduced, a gymnasium erected, and opportunities for physical exercise of an innocent kind had been provided, difficulties of discipline almost disappeared. Disorder and lawlessness stopped almost spontaneously. I believe many a "city tough" might have grown into a useful citizen had municipal playgrounds and gymnasiums been provided for him while a child.

Overwork is a cause of intemperance, especially in over-heated and poorly ventilated factories, and it has generally been observed by those who have made a study of the matter, that a reduction in the hours of labor is followed by a diminution of intemperance, perhaps not at first, but in a near future. This is, I think, the very general testimony of experts in this matter, and is the result shown by every careful investigation. I will quote a few words on this subject from Robert Howard of Massachusetts, secretary of the spinners' organization, and a very intelligent and competent witness. In speaking of the girls in Fall River mills, he says: —

"It is dreadful to see those girls, stripped almost to the skin, wearing only a kind of loose wrapper, and running like a race horse from the beginning to the end of the day; and I can perceive that it is bringing about both a moral and physical decay in them. . . . I must say that I have noticed that the hard, slavish overwork is driving those girls into the saloons after they leave the mills in the evening; and you might as well deprive them of their suppers; after they leave the mills you will see them going into saloons, looking scared and ashamed, and trying to go in without any one seeing them — good, respectable girls, too; but they come out so tired, and so thirsty, and so exhausted, especially in the summer months, from working along steadily from hour to hour, and breathing the noxious effluvia from the grease and other ingredients that are used in the mills, and they are so exhausted when the time comes to quit, that you will find that all their thoughts are concentrated on something to drink to

allay their thirst." Of course, men are still more exposed to this temptation, and much more testimony could be given.

Here, again, we ought to unite positive with negative work, and those interested in the temperance movement ought to help workingmen to reduce to reasonable limits the length of the working day in factories and shops, and then to encourage them to make a good use of leisure. The seventh Earl of Shaftesbury — whose life, by Hodder, should be read by every philanthropist — was in this, as in so many other respects, a model reformer. He assisted the short-time committees very efficiently in securing suitable legislation, and when the working day was reduced in accordance with their programme, he wrote them a letter, from which the following is an extract: "My good friends, . . . First, we must give most humble and hearty thanks to Almighty God for the unexpected and wonderful success that has attended our efforts. . . . But with your success have commenced new duties. You are now in possession of those two hours which you have so long and so ardently desired; you must therefore turn them to the best account, to that account which was ever in the minds of your friends and advocates when they appealed to the legislature on behalf of your rights as immortal beings, as citizens and Christians.

"You will remember the principal motive that stimulated your own activity and the energetic aid of your supporters in Parliament, was the use that might be made of this leisure for the moral improvement of the factory people, and especially the female workers, who will now enjoy far better opportunities both of learning and practising those duties which must be known and discharged if we would have a comfortable, decent, and happy population.

"You will experience no difficulty throughout your several districts in obtaining counsel or assistance on these subjects. The clergy, the various ministers, the medical men — all who have been so forward and earnest in your cause — will, I am sure, be really delighted to co-operate with your efforts."

But one other point remains to be mentioned. The use of intoxicating beverages has been in a thousand and one ways

connected with sociability. It has associations with joyous and festive occasions. Here, again, we must not be content with simple banishment. Those who have gifts as social leaders have opportunity to do useful work. They should give their earnest, serious thought to the development of new social forms and customs, quite as charming and delightful as the old, yet unconnected with beverages which intoxicate. Always strive to put some good influence in the place of the evil habit banished, for until this is done the victory is only half won.

These are a few of the suggestions which occur to me in connection with those two large subjects, temperance reform and the labor movement, and, inadequate as this treatment is, I trust that it may stimulate thought and endeavor, and help forward the good work of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union.

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